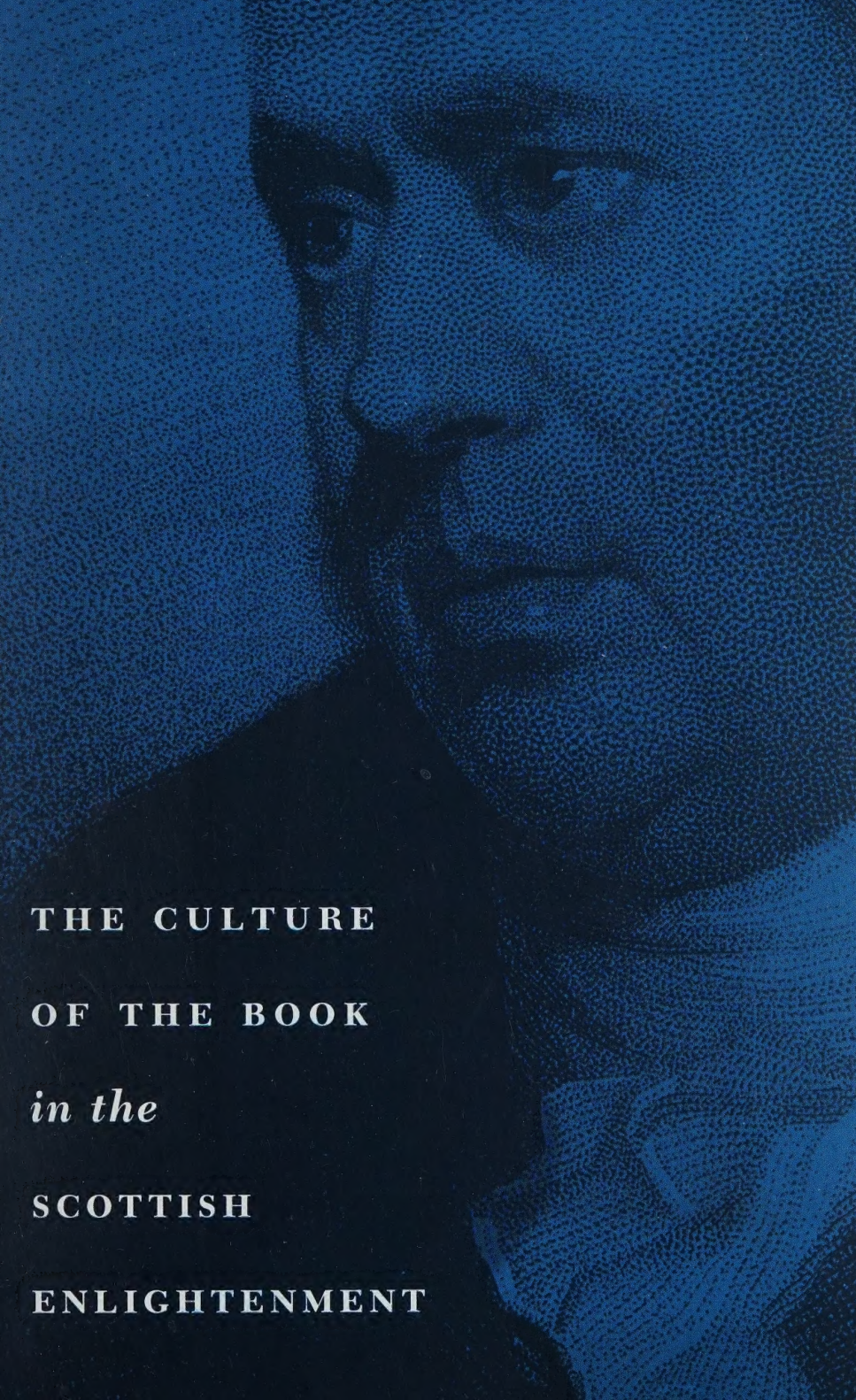
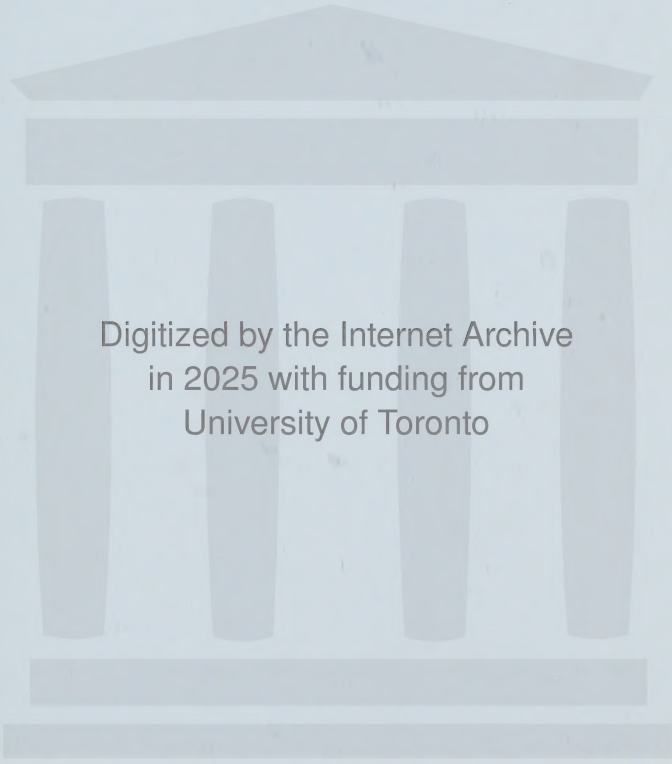


THE CULTURE OF THE BOOK *in the* SCOTTISH ENLIGHTENMENT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The Culture of the Book in the Scottish Enlightenment

THE CULTURE OF THE BOOK
in the
SCOTTISH ENLIGHTENMENT

An Exhibition
with Essays by

Roger Emerson, Richard Sher,
Stephen Brown, and Paul Wood

Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, University of Toronto

28 September – 22 December 2000

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[Front cover] William Smellie F.S.A. From an unfinished stipple engraving by R.B. Hall after a painting by George Watson, F.S.A. (from the personal collection of Paul Wood).

[Back cover] Scottish eighteenth-century wheel binding. *The Holy Bible*. Edinburgh: Printed by R. Watkins, 1744-1746.

[Frontispiece] A set of finely tooled quarto volumes: Robert Henry, *The History of Great Britain* (Edinburgh, 1777); William Robertson, *The History of America* (London, 1777); Robert Watson, *The History of the Reign of Philip the Second, King of Spain* (London, 1777); David Hume, *Essays and Treatises on Several Subjects*. (London, 1768); and Adam Ferguson, *An Essay on the History of Civil Society* (Edinburgh, 1767).

FOREWORD

It is a distinct pleasure to welcome the members of the Canadian Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies and the Eighteenth-Century Scottish Studies Society to the University of Toronto on the occasion of their joint conference, "Memory and Identity: Past and Present". It is also a pleasure to welcome back Paul Wood as an exhibition co-ordinator, after fifteen years. The catalogue that Professor Wood has edited and contributed to is different from most of the Fisher Library exhibition catalogues produced over the past twenty-seven years. The four essays, which investigate various aspects of the book culture of eighteenth-century Scotland, are an important contribution to the burgeoning academic discipline of the history of the book. It seems especially significant that this exhibition and catalogue coincide with the inauguration, in the Fall Term of 2000, of the University of Toronto's collaborative programme in Book History and Print Culture.

The books and *objets* displayed remind us of the great strengths in the field that are part of the rich research resources of the Fisher Library - resources that in this area have been further enhanced through recent acquisitions. They also demonstrate, in a dramatic way, the contribution to European culture of the Scottish Enlightenment and, through the Scottish diaspora, to many other areas of the world. Canada has been a major beneficiary of the intellectual culture of Scotland, and thus, it is entirely appropriate that this exhibition and conference should take place at a Canadian university as we approach the third millennium.

Richard Landon, Director
2 August 2000

John Kay's caricature of two Edinburgh booksellers, William Coke and John Guthrie. (From John Kay, *A Series of Original Portraits and Caricature Etchings*. New ed. Edinburgh, 1877.)

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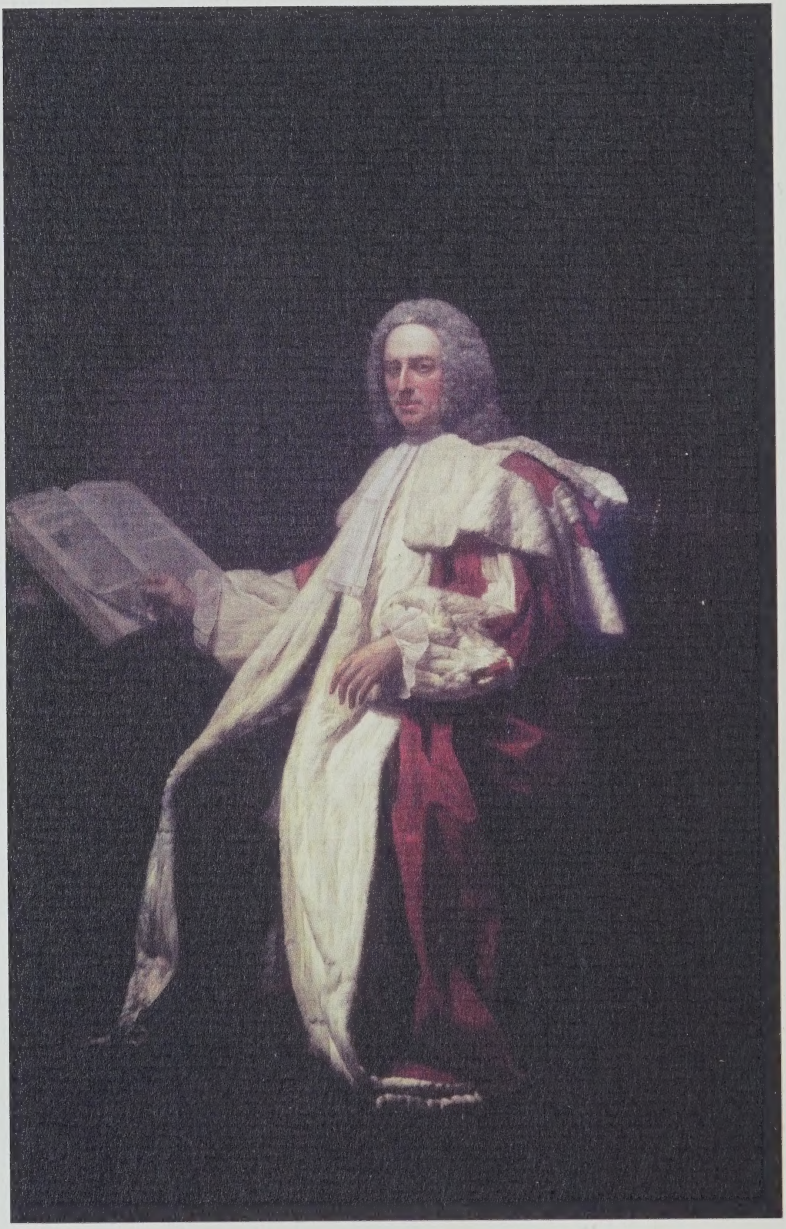
PREFACE

As I discovered in 1985, when preparing an exhibition illustrating the career of the eighteenth-century polymath Thomas Reid, the collection of printed material relating to the Scottish Enlightenment held by the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library is among the finest in the world. Few libraries in North America can match the range, depth, or significance of the Fisher's holdings of Scottish titles and, at least as far as printed works are concerned, the Fisher rivals some of the major European libraries. This catalogue and the exhibition it accompanies are, to a large extent, intended to celebrate the richness of the Fisher collection, and to draw attention to the treasures to be found in it. But the catalogue and exhibition are also intended to register a feature of the Scottish Enlightenment which has not been given its due, namely, the culture of the book in eighteenth-century Scotland. Whereas the work of Daniel Mornet in the early twentieth century has inspired subsequent generations of historians of eighteenth-century France to take seriously the history of the book broadly construed, historians of Scotland in the period have not hitherto displayed a comparable interest in the role of print in the Scottish Enlightenment. Recently, however, scholars such as William Zachs, Warren MacDougall, Stephen Brown, and Richard Sher have begun to investigate the history of the book in eighteenth-century Scotland along the lines mapped out by Robert Darnton among others, and we are now in a much better position than we were a decade ago to appreciate the significance of print culture in the Scottish Enlightenment. The essays in this catalogue were written in order to provide a sense of the latest scholarship, and to suggest avenues for future inquiry. In addition, they are intended to illustrate different elements of the culture of the book, since they deal with book collecting (albeit on a grand scale), publishers, authors, readers, and the complexities of the book trade. Taken together, the catalogue and the exhibition provide a comprehensive overview of the culture of the book in the Scottish Enlightenment.

For a bibliophile of limited means like myself, the opportunity to mount an exhibition at the Fisher Library is something to relish, and I enjoyed working in the stacks and choosing the books for display. I am extremely grateful to the Director of the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, Richard Landon, for allowing me to prepare another exhibition,

and to the Director of Development and Public Affairs at the University of Toronto Library, Gayle Garlock, for a subvention to produce this catalogue. I greatly appreciate their support. It has been a pleasure working again with the librarians and staff at the Fisher, and I would like to thank Elisabeth Anne Jocz, Linda Joy, and Luba Frastacky for their help during the preparation of the exhibition; and also to Jim Ingram and Bogda Mickiewicz of the Preservation Department of the University Library for their sterling work in producing the digitized images used in this catalogue. Thanks are also due to Michael Walsh for the loan of two Tassie medallions and the mezzotint portrait of David Hume; to the Royal Ontario Museum for the loan of the remaining Tassie medallions and the replica of the Portland Vase; and to Brian A. Musselwhite, Assistant Curator of Decorative Arts in the Department of Western Art and Culture at the ROM, for his assistance. Perhaps my greatest debts at the Fisher are to Philip Oldfield and Emrys Evans. Having worked with them both in 1985 and benefited from their considerable expertise, I have been fortunate to collaborate with them a second time, and I hope that we may do so again in the future. Lastly, it is appropriate that the exhibition has been scheduled to coincide with the first joint meeting of the Canadian Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies/la Société canadienne de l'étude du dix-huitième siècle and the Eighteenth Century Scottish Studies Society. While serving on the executive of both Societies I suggested that such a meeting take place, and it gives me some satisfaction to see that this idea has finally come to fruition. For the past thirty years, scholars working in Canada have made a significant contribution to the study of eighteenth-century Scotland; the conference, the exhibition, and the catalogue serve as a tribute to their collective achievement.

Paul Wood
University of Victoria
31 May 2000



Archibald Campbell, third Duke of Argyll. Oil painting by Allan Ramsay, 1749.

Catologus Librorum A.C.D.A.: The Library of Archibald Campbell, Third Duke of Argyll (1682-1761)

BY ROGER EMERSON

Of the great figures of eighteenth-century Scotland, Archibald Campbell (1682-1761), first Earl of Ilay (from 1706), and third Duke of Argyll (from 1743), has not had his due. Bewigged, pawky and quizzical, he looks at us from all the banknotes issued by the Royal Bank of Scotland, of which he was the first Governor. And yet he is not well remembered, despite the fact that he was a fascinating man, who through his patronage was responsible as much as anyone for the brilliance of Scotland during the eighteenth century. He has no proper biography, yet he appears in every account of the politics of his time, owing to his friendship with Sir Robert Walpole, and his role as advisor and manager of Scottish politics for British governments in the years 1725-1742 and 1747-1761. Even as a politician he has not fared well. Some have seen him as another Anglified Scot who did not protect national interests; others have merely regarded him as a hack, skilful in the management of elections.[1] Few have found him an interesting or constructive politician, while most have found him cunning and devious. For English historians he has remained a minor figure. For Scots he has been of marginally greater interest, but mainly as an improver and politician who dispensed patronage.

Historians have not asked how, or in what ways, Argyll's personal intellectual interests affected the policies he pursued in Scotland, the patronage he bestowed, or the career path he followed. Part of the reason is that there are few surviving papers, other than Argyll's letters, which are are mainly about politics. What survives at Inveraray Castle is unknown, remains uncatalogued, and has been effectively closed to historians by the Campbell family. He published nothing of substance. His secretaries were not reflective men who kept diaries for long periods, although one meagre diary does survive from the late 1740s and early 1750s. No contemporary left a portrait of him comparable to Boswell's accounts of Hume or Kames.

This is regrettable because Argyll was not merely a politician engaged in obtaining offices and affecting public life; he was also an intellectual who had deep interests in many subjects. As a botanist, he and his gardens were at the centre of British scientific investigation into plants for more than a generation. Furthermore, he was an amateur chemist whose interests in the field derived from his longstanding fascination with medicine and medical theory. Like his friend, the second Duke of Richmond, a man very like him, he prescribed for his friends and may personally have dispensed their medicines. Experiments were conducted in his laboratories by himself and others, in the hope that they would lead to the betterment of industries in Scotland. His schemes for improvement were impressive and often novel. Lists of eighteenth-century mathematicians include him, partly because of his notable collection of scientific instruments. He was knowledgeable about architecture and faddish enough to put up a Gothic folly in the early 1730s, and to erect the largest Gothic building in Britain during the eighteenth century. He was, withal, a respectable intellectual whose actions were informed by his knowledge and beliefs.

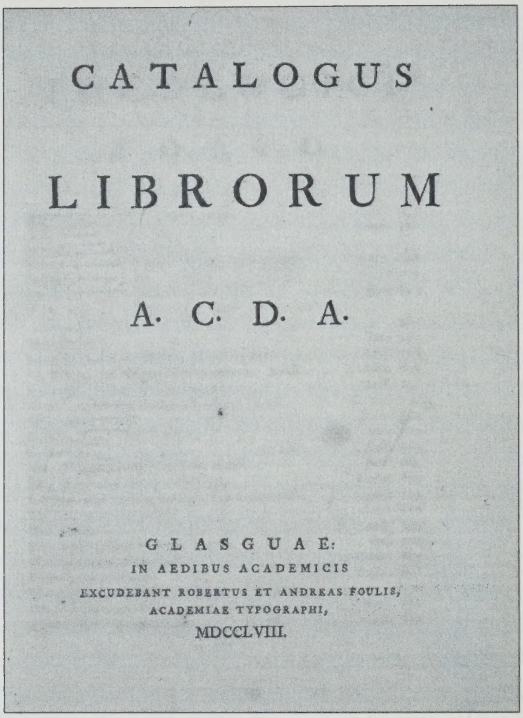
The *Catalogus Librorum,* the published catalogue of Argyll's library [Case 1] tells us much about his mind. Like the catalogue, Argyll himself was orderly and systematic, eager for practical, empirically derived knowledge, and not much given to speculation. He read history and was clearly fascinated by modern science and its employment. To him, science and its applications represented the best means for improving his fortune and the condition of Scots. He read little contemporary popular literature, but kept up with serious science, medicine and mathematics. Often content to spend his time delving into the ancient world, he collected Cicero and was a student of oratory and rhetoric [Reading Room Case]. He enjoyed reading poetry, and books on architecture, but had little use for painting and music, except as examples of applied mathematics. He also knew that the modern world was a far more complex place than the ancient world. Its politics were more complicated, and trade and commerce affected it very differently. In a scholarly way he straddled both the ancient and modern worlds, as did so many figures of the early Enlightenment period. As a modern he was a scientist of sorts, an improver, a believer in progress, and a man whose political practices were designed to make the world a better place, not only for himself and his friends, but also for the generality of humankind. His tastes were often classical, formed by a study of the ancients. About both worlds he was intensely curious.

One may doubt the claim made in one of his obituaries that he

appointed 54,000 people to offices over a career which ran from 1705 to 1761. Yet the fact remains that he did appoint a great many persons, a surprising number of whom, very like him in their interests and outlook, obtained the best positions.[2] He could talk to lawyers, doctors, professors, mechanics, gardeners, and farmers in their own language. He was sufficiently *au fait* with the learning of his time, enabling him to appoint men whom he perceived to be at the "cutting edge". His personal knowledge of many fields allowed him to judge the qualifications of men whom he appointed to office. For most of the positions that he filled, there were numerous candidates with equally good recommendations. The choices which he and his principal lieutenants made were often in favour of candidates most resembling themselves. Because of him, they helped to shape the Scottish Enlightenment, and in so doing, gave it a tolerant, secular, and scientific character, one which Scottish culture generally lacked when Argyll came to administer patronage in the mid-1720s. An examination of his library helps us to understand the changes which were made in Scotland by his appointments of like-minded men in the Kirk, civil government, universities, and other institutions which he could control or influence. Among his appointees were many of those who made the Scottish Enlightenment memorable.[3] When Argyll died in 1761, Scotland, particularly in its universities,[4] was a more modern, civilized and practical place than it had been when he first entered serious politics in the early 1700s. Argyll's library catalogue helps us to understand this process. Noting his personal interests is not an irrelevance to eighteenth-century Scottish cultural history or, indeed, to the history of the European Enlightenment.

Unfortunately, we will never see the actual book collection; it was sold on Argyll's death to the Earl of Bute and perished in a house fire sometime later.[5] Nothing of this remarkable assemblage of books now survives - only the printed record of the library, the *Catalogus Librorum A.C.D.A.* [i.e. Archibald Campbell Duke of Argyll], published in Glasgow in 1758.

At the end of his life the Duke of Argyll probably had five separate book collections, the principal one being in Argyll House in Argyll Street, London. This house even came to be called "The Library" by most of the Duke's friends. The library room of this home, which was demolished in the mid-nineteenth century,[6] was built by Argyll in 1742 and is said to have been very impressive. It was a ninety- by twenty-foot gallery, across the back of the mansion.[7] The library was furnished with bookcases along one wall, with various instruments, maps, and tables



Title page to the *Catalogus librorum A.C.D.A.*

and chairs scattered along the opposite wall, which was partially glazed. Additional light was provided by bay windows at each end. The majority of his books must have been housed here. However, the *Catalogus* may contain titles of books shelved elsewhere. Whitton, the small estate of about fifty-five acres, which he developed on wasteland on Hounslow Heath [Large Display Case], also had a sizeable collection. The Whitton books and those of several other collections in Scotland belonging to Argyll, may account, in part, for the duplication of books in the published catalogue of his holdings.

We can imagine Argyll's books, housed in their elegant setting, and surrounded by instruments, model machines, maps, prints, and curios, from the following description written in 1760:

> [Whitton] stands in a Garden, and is a regular handsome Building: There is on the Ground Floor one fine well proportioned Room, where stands a Chinese Pagoda of Mother of Pearl,

> of exquisite Workmanship; at the upper End of it is a Collection of China, consisting of the greatest Curiosities in Porcelaine: In the next Room is a beautiful Collection of Butterflies and other Insects; and also Drawings of Birds, Fishes, and Fruits colour'd and highly finish'd. The upper Floor is in the Chinese Taste; a with-drawing Room hung with fine India Paper, the Curtains and Chairs of painted Taffeta; next to that is a Bed Chamber in the same Manner, with a most elegant painted Taffeta Bed, and a Palampour [bed cover] of the same: On each Side of the great Room below Stairs, is a long Gallery, in one of which are all of the Instruments which the Duke used in his Mechanical and Chymical Experiments; and along the opposite Side, are a Set of Admirable Drawings; the other is fill'd with Books and Drawings also.[8]

Somewhere in his London library or at Whitton was the "Grand Orrery" made for him by Thomas Wright (its current whereabouts is unknown), and his equinoctial dial (which sold for over a million pounds at Sotheby's New York in December 1999).

By 1758, when the book catalogue was printed by the Foulis brothers of Glasgow, the collection amounted to at least 9,581 titles in more than 12,177 volumes. Although the precise total is difficult to compute (some titles run to an unspecified number of volumes, and some items were almost certainly bound in with other material), the catalogue gives us a good idea of what was said to have been at the time the largest private library in Great Britain, and a glimpse into the mind of the man who formed it.

Argyll seems to have been a happy grubber in London's bookstores and second-hand shops, where he personally bought many of his own books. He also bought through dealers and friends, such as Alexander Cunningham of Block, travelling tutor, classicist, chess player, and friend of many intellectuals of the period, including Leibniz and Jean Le Clerc. We can surmise from the existence of library catalogues in Argyll's library, that he placed bids at sales held on the Continent, from Copenhagen to Rome, although most of his purchases were made in Holland and London.[9] He is known to have acquired books in Edinburgh through his brother's and mother's Edinburgh "doer" or solicitor, James Anderson, W.S., the well-known *virtuoso* and antiquary.[10] Letters exist to show that he was regularly buying both old and new books from Edinburgh booksellers from the mid-1740s to the mid-1750s.[11]

The library was not inherited, but assembled by him over a long

period. It is likely that most of the books were acquired before the end of the 1740s, and probably before 1742 when he turned sixty. Clearly, he already had a large collection when the extension was added to his London house in 1742. There were relatively few purchases of books printed in the 1750s, and the most recent book in the catalogue was added to the collection in 1757 or 1758. Most of the later additions, however, were probably gifts from men seeking patronage or acknowledging past favours. He had many such works from the leading lights of the Scottish Enlightenment, and from scientists in England. David Hume gave Argyll a copy of his *Essays and Treatises on Several Subjects* [Case 2], with the inscription: "I have a Regard for his Grace, & desire this Trifle may be considerd as a Present, not to the Duke of Argyle, but to Archibald Campbell, who is undoubtedly a Man of Sense & Learning".[12]

This sensible and learned man was an unusual collector. He eschewed beautiful manuscripts, preferring instead practical works. The five manuscripts he did possess were discussions of bleaching, the construction of sundials, mills, the making of sun-dried sea salt, and a copy of John Law's *Essay on a Land Bank* (1703/4). Nor did he generally buy incunables. Among the 12,000 plus volumes, only eleven books were published before 1500: early editions of Plutarch's *Lives*, Cicero, Roman and Greek poets, the works of Angelo Poliziano, and two works on language. He seems to have bought relatively few very fine books; about five per cent of the books (574 titles) listed in the catalogue are described as being large paper copies, finely printed, issued by some famous publisher or printer, or edited by a notable scholar. The Duke may, however, have liked fine bindings because the cost of binding, when known, seems to have been equal to the cost of the book itself.[13] What today would be considered fine rare books appeared differently to him, as representing the best or most useful editions, or edited by eminent critics. From the perspective of the eighteenth century, Argyll's library is composed mainly of works which he found useful or desirable by virtue of their rarity, binding, editor, or age. He bought a few early printed books, perhaps out of curiosity. He bought later editions for their commentaries or expanded texts, and he often had modern editions of the same work. Given his liking for fine things, his books were unlikely to have been shabby. Indeed, there may have been a lot of sumptuously bound books, but that is something we will never know.

The cost of his collection can only be roughly estimated. In the early 1750s in Edinburgh, Argyll was paying on average about nine shillings for folios, twelve shillings for quartos, and three or four shillings for octavos. The median costs were a little lower. The value of the library has been esti-

mated by using the average prices of the 1750s, even though those years marked the end of the Duke's buying career. The books include no very expensive volumes, and few profusely illustrated. They may well have been below the average costs of the expensive books that he had bought before 1740. Using these figures, the cost of the books in the catalogue would have been £4224,[14] excluding freight, binding, insurance and possibly even customs dues, although it is likely he avoided duty since he sometimes paid little or nothing for the wines he imported. If the collection had cost him £5500, it was roughly equal to twice the lifetime income of a long-lived Scottish cleric between 1700 and 1750. While we cannot know the exact cost of the books, we can at least reconstruct the library from the catalogue.

Why the catalogue was compiled, and by whom is open to speculation.[15] The Duke may have been thinking about the disposal of his books after his death, and was merely putting his collection in order. Perhaps he simply wanted to know exactly what books were in his collections. Or maybe publication of the catalogue was a make-work project for the Foulis brothers' press, which he had patronized in the past. Argyll owned copies of most of the books produced by the Foulis Press on display in the Reading Room Cases. Whatever his reason for having the books listed, the *Catalogus* confirms the interests and concerns that were attributed to him by contemporaries.

Firstly, the *Catalogus* is interesting by virtue of the system of cataloguing it employed, which has close affinities with several seventeenth-century French models. One such model is the system used at the Jesuit College of Paris, described by Jean Garnier in 1678;[16] another is that of the Bibliothèque Royale in Paris.[17] Like most early cataloguing schemes, these systems derive from a common source: Gabriel Naudé's *Advis pour dresser une bibliothèque*, first published at Paris in 1627, and reprinted many times in all the major European languages. Argyll, or his librarian, might well have read this classic work, since much of the system adopted reflects Naudé's advice:

> ... I conceive that arrangement to always be the best which is easiest, least intricate, most natural, most used, and which follows the subjects of theology, medicine, jurisprudence, history, philosophy, mathematics, humanities, and so on, each of which should be classified under subheadings according to their several divisions, which for this purpose ought to be reasonably well understood by the librarian in charge ...[18]

The general categories into which Argyll divided his collection were: Theology; History; Public Law; Jurisprudence; Greek and Roman Authors; Philology; Medicine and Chemistry; Philosophy; Mathematics; and Miscellaneous. General categories were further subdivided in accordance with Naudé's recommendation:

> ... in theology all the Bibles should be placed first, in the order of their languages; next to these the Councils, Synods, Decrees, Canons, and all that concerns the Constitutions of the Church, and the more since they hold the second place of authority among us; after these, the Fathers, Greek and Latin; then the commentators, scholastics, learned men of various schools, and historians; and finally, the heretics.

Argyll followed this advice as well as a Protestant could. But he did not slavishly follow Naudé in the ordering of his philosophical books. Whereas the Frenchman wanted them set out according to age and by systems, the Duke tended to classify his books according to the kind of philosophy they contained. Most of the moral philosophy ended up under *Jus Publicum*; much natural philosophy, particularly the most modern, was shelved under mathematics, while logic and metaphysics were in *Philosophici &c.* He did, however, agree with Naudé that

> ... the most universal and ancient always take precedence; ... the interpreters and commentators [should] be placed apart and sorted according to the order of the books which they explain; ... the special treatises follow the order and arrangement which their subject matter should occupy among the arts and sciences; ... all books of similar designation and the same subject matter be most precisely classified and set in the places assigned them; since in so doing the memory is so much refreshed that it would be easy to find instantly ... whatever book one might wish.

Wherever he could, Argyll followed this model. When he did not, he resorted to Naudé's final comments on arrangement:

> ... the order of nature (which is always uniform and self-consistent) being incapable of application because of the wide range and diversity of books, there remains only the order of art, which every man usually wishes to establish to suit himself, according as he finds, by his own good sense and judgment, it will best suit his convenience, as much to satisfy himself as from unwillingness to follow the examples and opinions of others.

In the final analysis, order was determined by what was most convenient. Argyll's books were thus divided by subject and then, almost certainly, shelved by size, with the folios presumably at the bottom below the quartos and octavos.

Argyll's classification gave priority to religion. In Baconian fashion it allowed history to come next, followed by law and morality - those principles of order without which nothing else could flourish. Then came what might be called learned works on literature and the arts, covered by the rubric "philology". The sciences and the practical arts followed in order. This was not an unusual arrangement; in the 1680s the great Scottish jurist, Lord Stair, would have found it reasonable since he, like many civil lawyers, believed that without religion and law nothing could exist. Law rested on theological foundations set out in the Bible and in the records of the past, both the ecclesiastical past and that other conjectured past in which natural men came, through the light of reason and feeling, to comprehend what their principles of conduct ought to be. Armed with this knowledge, men could pursue the arts and sciences which might then flourish. Argyll was trained as a lawyer in late seventeenth-century Holland, where he may have imbibed such notions from the humanist law professors who taught him. The last section of the catalogue is largely taken up with travel literature, modern literature in several languages, and economics.

What is perhaps of more interest is the ranking of subjects, based on numbers of book titles. The largest class is history, followed by mathematics, medicine, the ancient writers (including their historians), philology, miscellaneous, jurisprudence, philosophy, public law, and theology. Such an ordering of his books closely reflects Argyll's preferences in reading and study. He was keenly interested in history and mathematics; the sciences and their practical applications were his constant concerns; he had a practical need for his law books; and theology (which included a variety of religious materials) interested him from a linguistic standpoint.

An analysis based on the number of volumes (as opposed to titles) gives a slightly different view of Argyll's reading habits. Theology still comes last, but miscellaneous, rather than history, ranks first, followed by the writings of the ancients, mathematics (including applied mathematics, physics, and astronomy), philology, history, medicine, natural philosophy, jurisprudence, public law, and, finally, theology. This was a serious secular scholar's leisure and working library. As a politician and judge, who sat in Parliament and in various Scottish courts, he needed many of the books

dealing with political theory and law. His library was not merely for show. For pleasure and diversion the Duke read the classics, history, ancient and modern poetry, and philosophy, while in the mathematical and medical sciences he took a more serious scholarly interest.

Fifteen per cent of the books in the theology category were Bibles - more a reflection of the Duke's interest in languages, than his concern with the salvation of his soul. He had Bibles or parts of the Scriptures in twenty languages, and dictionaries or grammars in at least ten more. With varying degrees of proficiency, he read English, Latin, French, Greek, Italian, Spanish, Dutch, Portugese, possibly German, and a little Hebrew. His linguistic curiosity extended to those languages included in the standard polyglot Bibles, as well as Algonkin, Anglo-Saxon, Arabic, Armenian, Chinese, Coptic, Danish, Gaelic, Georgian, Japanese, Malabar, Malay, Russian, Persian, Parua, Polish, Swedish, and the Turkic languages. For Argyll, theology was a convenient category under which to arrange linguistic material.

He acquired, as Naudé had recommended, many Fathers of the Latin and Greek churches. He possessed an apparently complete ten-volume set of the decrees and histories of the early Councils of the Church. His collection of medieval writers was not extensive, but included Bernard of Clairvaux and some of the other mystics read by Protestants, such as Thomas à Kempis and Meister Eckhart. Other scholastics, such as Thomas Aquinas, were shelved under philosophy. All this Romish material was counterbalanced by ecclesiastical histories written from a Protestant standpoint.

Argyll possessed works by many of the great figures of the Reformation, including Martin Luther, Jean Calvin, Théodore de Bèze, Martin Bucer, and a few writings of Ulrich Zwingli. He purchased Hugh Latimer's *Sermons*, but little else of the English Reformation. In this section were to be found those Protestant writers who mixed politics and religion, such as Philippe de Mornay, François Hotman, and John Selden. His library had a sound collection of the early Scottish reformers. Indeed, Argyll bought a good deal of Scottish material in every category, and seems to have taken a genuine interest in Scottish history. One suspects that he regarded the materials in this part of the collection as shedding light on history, but not necessarily on religion.

The Synod of Dordrecht was treated in a number of the works, as well as the controversialists who reacted to it - John Cameron, later Principal of Glasgow University, the Amyraldists, and some of the Aberdeen doctors,

Bishop Joseph Hall and Jacobus Arminius himself. What is notable about his list of seventeenth-century divines is the marked irenic and latitudinarian tendencies that so many displayed. He had most of the works of Oxford Rationalists and the Cambridge Platonists, and several editions of Hugo Grotius's *De veritate religionis Christianæ.* Books by William Chillingworth, Jeremy Taylor, Isaac Barrow, and the Latitudinarians of the latter part of the century, particularly those who, like John Tillotson, Edward Stillingfleet, and Edmund Gibson, became bishops after 1689, were also to be found here. His list of rationalist and latitudinarian theologians continued with Anglicans like Samuel Clarke, Benjamin Hoadly, William Whiston, and the other Boyle Lecturers, many of whom the Duke knew personally. There were few High Churchmen and Dissenters. The collection lacked the native and foreign "hot brethren", but did have the works of moderates like Philippus van Limborch, Jean Le Clerc, and Jean Barbeyrac.

The Catholic opponents of moderate Protestantism were also represented, and include some who had been at the Council of Trent, but Argyll also had several sets of Father Paolo Sarpi's history of the Council. In addition there were works by Loyola, Juan de Mariana, Bellarmino, Petrus Canisius, and the French controversialists of the seventeenth century. Other French authors were: duc de Richelieu, Blaise Pascal, Fénelon, J.B. Bossuet, Pierre Poiret, and Antoinette Bourignon, who had attracted so many Scottish adherents. Foremost among the writings of sixteenth-century Scottish Catholics in the collection were those by John Leslie, Bishop of Ross, but there were few, if any, from the seventeenth century. The eighteenth century produced only one name of real note, Father Thomas Innes, whose writings were to be found in the history section. Argyll also owned a copy of the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*, for use, perhaps, as a buying guide.

The presence of such learned authors as the Buxtorfs, Louis Cappel, John Selden, Isaac de La Peyrère, Richard Simon, and Humphrey Prideaux suggest an interest in the stability, authenticity, and credibility of the canonical texts. Closely related to these writings were the twenty-odd folio Biblical chronologies, shelved in the history section, and some linguistic works.

The Duke had, of course, many contemporary Scottish works, including a selection of unusual items by high-flying Presbyterians, such as ("Blind") William Jameson and the second Duke of Argyll's tutor, John Anderson, as well as works by the Scottish Moderates, old and young. It is

significant that he possessed numerous works by moderate men, since his family's natural connections had been rigidly orthodox. Acting from personal conviction, as much as in his own political interests, he broke with the "hot brethren" around 1726, over the vexed question of the separation of church and state.

Argyll's religious collection also had an unorthodox side. He owned several works on Islam, and a Koran, which most Protestants regarded as the record of the "Impostor Prophet Mohammed", as Humphrey Prideaux had called it. He had numerous works opposing the doctrine of the Trinity, including those by Faustus Socinus, and several books written by the heresiarchs, Giulio Vanini, Michael Servetus, and Giordano Bruno. He had copies of Richard Overton's *Man wholly Mortal* (1655), a Baptist work, and Isaac de La Peyrère's *Præ-Adamitæ* from the same year. Spinoza's *Tractatus* and Hobbes's *Works* were acquired as examples of "atheistic" authors. The Duke also had an almost complete collection of the major English deists, beginning with Lord Herbert of Cherbury, as well as such opponents of deism as Richard Bentley, Samuel Butler, George Berkeley, James Foster, and John Leland. Charles Blount was represented by the 1696 edition of his *Works*, and by his incomplete translation of Philostratus the Athenian's *The Life of Apollonius of Tyaneus*. This section also held works by John Toland, Matthew Tindal, John Asgil, Anthony Collins, Thomas Woolston, the Earl of Shaftesbury, John Trenchard, Alexander Gordon, Thomas Chubb, Conyers Middleton, and Henry Dodwell junior, but there were few works by the authors who opposed them. Argyll's interest in controversy did not lead him to buy even-handedly.

The number of works by continental freethinkers and sceptics is also impressive, but most of these writers were not listed in this section. Those who were listed include: Antonius van Dale, Isaac de La Peyrère, and Richard Simon. Elsewhere he had Saint Evremond, Pierre Bayle, P.D. Huet, Baron de Lahontan, *The Turkish Spy*, Simon Tyssot de Patot, the abbé de Saint-Pierre, and some of the more accomplished writers of the Enlightenment up to 1755. His freethinking was rooted in the writings of the late seventeenth century.

Argyll had very few books of devotion or prayer, a lack that suggests his interest in religion was purely professional and intellectual. His presence in the General Assembly of the Kirk made for moderation, but, had the "un'co guid" really known his reading habits, they would have found it hard to bear. His Erastian tendencies, his tolerance and dislike of

subscription, and his general critical approach to religion were grounded in the texts he owned.

In history, as in other subjects, the Duke's tastes were broadly catholic. He possessed about thirty-five chronologies and world histories, including the standard ones by J.J. Scaliger, Seth Calvisius, and, perhaps not surprisingly given his scientific bent, by Sir Isaac Newton [Case 2].[19] Chronology seems to have been a long-standing preoccupation, and may relate to his concern with measurement, including that of time. Argyll appears to have contemplated the problems of harmonizing Judæo-Christian chronology and the principles of dating with those of various other traditions. He was keenly aware that not all schemes were alike, and that harmony was yet to be established. Other works devoted to the study of historical method in the collection include Jean Bodin's treatise of 1566, and an edition of Charles Rollin's work from the 1730s. Chronology and method were succeeded by ecclesiastical history. Here he favoured Protestant accounts, but he also possessed works by Cesare Baronio, Louis Maimbourg, and other Roman Catholic writers, along with their Protestant opponents such as Pierre Bayle, Jacques Basnage, Friedrich Spanheim, and Jeremy Collier.

The Duke's collection had many histories of individual peoples, ancient and modern, European and non-European. He had such bibliographies as Bishop William Nicolson's *The Scottish Historical Library*, and many topographical works. There was much on Scottish history and even more on English. He had books on the events of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in which his family and he had been involved, including the "Marquis of Argyll's instruction to his children", a work written shortly before the Marquis' execution in 1661 for disloyalty to a worthless king. One of the more curious of these items was George Lockhart's *Memoirs Concerning the Affairs of Scotland* (1714), a book by a Jacobite friend who had been the playmate of himself and his brother John, the second Duke.[20] Surprisingly, William Robertson's *The History of Scotland* is not listed.

Argyll also had ecclesiastical and civil histories of England in every period, from William Camden's, Sir John Spelman's, Robert Brady's, and Sir William Dugdale's, to those writers who had used these histories in their own writings. His collection of memoirs from the latter half of the seventeenth century was strong, and his interest in the principal personalities of the period is evident in a number of biographies and autobiographies. He possessed a copy of William Guthrie's *A General History of*

England, one of the first works to draw heavily on parliamentary records. Curiously, however, he does not seem to have owned a copy of Hume's *History*. Perhaps he was awaiting its conclusion before purchasing it, but he died before its appearance.

There were surprisingly few books on Ireland, though histories of most other European states were plentiful. Well over one hundred titles were devoted to French history, and about as many more on the Netherlands and its Empire. Histories of the Northern European countries, i.e. Scandinavia, Poland, Hungary, and Russia, were well represented, while histories of Southern Europe included a dozen volumes on the Iberian states, and twenty folios on Italy and many more in smaller formats. In addition there were one or two histories of the Serbs and Croatians and many volumes on the Turks and the Ottoman Empire. Of Asian countries, histories of the Persians, the Mogul Empire, as well as several works on China, Formosa, and Japan were also found among Argyll's books. The Duke seems to have taken little interest in the peoples of Africa, except for the Ethiopians, but works on the Spanish conquests in the New World were numerous. He read Garcilasco de La Vega's accounts of Peru and Florida, works used by all the Scottish *philosophes*. He had a strong liking for memoirs and biographies, which abound in all sections of the library.

This was a truly cosmopolitan collection, which focused on political, religious, and economic events, and on the causes which had determined the history of Europe and its peoples. The Duke had no need to resort to religious explanations, except insofar as they related to the beliefs by which men acted. He collected religious history out of natural curiosity, and because of his interests in politics and statecraft.

The next category of the library was *Jus Publicum*, which gathered together all the significant writers on the theory of natural law: Francisco de Vitoria, Juan de Mariana, Hugo Grotius, Richard Cumberland, Samuel Pufendorf, John Locke, Jean Barbeyrac, J.J. Burlamaqui, and Gerard Noodt. These idealist writers were balanced by realists and Machiavellians. He had many works by republican writers and seems to have been fascinated by republics in both the ancient and modern worlds. He clearly preferred realistic works to utopias, though a few works by such utopianists as Thomas More, Tommaso Campanella, and Sir John Harington found their way into the library.

He accumulated a respectable collection of British writers on politics, such as Richard Hooker, whom he had long admired, as well as James

Tyrrell, Matthew Tindal, and John Toland, all of whom addressed current issues. These writers were grouped together with the great theorists of divine right and those monarchomachs who had forced them into print: the Calvinist and Catholic justifiers of assassination, François Hotman, alleged author of *Vindicae contra tyrannos*, and other Jesuit apologists. Although there were some works by such modern political theorists as the Chevalier Ramsay, Montesquieu, the abbé de Mably, and David Hume, who was represented by *Essays Moral, Political, and Literary* (1752), the Duke's interests in political theory lay elsewhere - principally in those historically important theories that had help shape the laws which he knew best. As a practical man, Argyll possessed substantial collections of treaties, public documents, handbooks of parliamentary procedure, statements of the rights of various churches, and collections such as Sir John Cotton's on the privileges and rights of Englishmen. He had similar books on France and other countries. There were also a few works on the political life and thought of the Hebrews, Greeks, Romans, Moguls, Japanese, Turks, the Hanseatic League towns, Bohemia, Hungary, the Netherlands, Spain, Poland and Lithuania, Tartary, some of which were undoubtedly useful to him as a statesman. Controversial works and periodicals found a place here too. Among them were *The Examiner*, *The Whig Examiner*, *Medley*, *The Independent Whig*, *Cato's Letters*, and *The Craftsman*. Argyll may have voted with the government, but he nevertheless read the Opposition's publications. It is perhaps worth noting that this section contains little political ephemera, most of which was shelved under the category *Miscellanei*.

The books in *Jus Publicum* were largely acquired for their arguments concerning political orders and their justification. There was much here on rights, legally enforceable obligations of citizens, the origin of states, and on the limits of governments. Here was primary source material from which the Duke could fashion arguments to use in courts, in Parliament, and wherever else he had to debate law or policies. When he needed arguments about law and political reality he went to the next category of the library, *Judici*.

The *Judici* category may not hold much interest for us, but for Argyll it would have been immensely useful, and reflects the working library of a British lawyer. Books on natural law were overshadowed by collections of laws and customs of various kinds: Roman, ecclesiastical, civil, criminal, maritime, equity, feudal, Scottish, English, American colonial, Dutch, French, etc. Other books included collections of procedure, decisions,

law dictionaries, and what the Scots called style books (forms of actions and models for the drafting of various legal instruments). There was a good deal of history, including works by Henry Home, Lord Kames, on the development of laws in general and of Scottish laws in particular.

Argyll possessed a very fine collection of classical authors, such as one would have expected to find in an eighteenth-century gentleman's library. There was a heavy emphasis on history, including eighty-three folio volumes on the Greek world up to the fall of Constantinople, complemented by a number of works in quarto and octavo. The great names in Greek literature were well represented along with the philosophers. Works in Latin were less numerous, though they do include many complete histories of Rome. Argyll was, however, a keen collector of Latin poetry, and possessed twelve folio sets of the works of Virgil and eight of Ovid, and a twenty-nine volume collection of Latin poets in quarto, published in Milan in 1673. The most prominent part of his Latin books, however, were the more than two hundred volumes of the works of Cicero, whom he avidly collected. As an admirer of oratory he had a good collection of orations, not only those by Cicero, but by many others.

Judici was followed by *Philogici*. This category included books on art and literature, and provides a fascinating glimpse into the many interests actively pursued by the Duke. The section began with the works of such learned men as Desiderius Erasmus, Justus Lipsius, John Selden, Cardinal Bessarion, Francisco Suárez, and Athanasius Kircher, and continued with books on antiquities in general, followed by those on specific peoples. Next were books on architecture and art, gems, numismatics, and weights and measures. Various language and subject dictionaries, grammars, linguistics, and shorthand, constituted the next sub-category. Modern works of literary criticism and learned journals also figured here, including a complete run of the *Mémoires des Académie des inscriptions et belles lettres*, and substantial runs of *Nouvelles de la république des lettres* [Case 2], Le Clerc's *Bibliothèque universelle et historique*, and a dozen or more serials in English, French, and Italian. The section also included a number of books of practical study, such as Charles Rollin's *De la manière d'enseigner et d'étudier les belles lettres* (1726). Catalogues of libraries and book sales completed this part of the collection.

Argyll's comprehensive medical collection, which would have done credit to any eighteenth-century medical man, was more extensive than most physicians were probably able to afford, and was, furthermore, up to date. It embraced all fields of medicine, from medical theory and practice,

anatomy, midwifery, and surgery, to the allied disciplines of botany, pharmacy, and chemistry. Fittingly, Argyll was awarded an honorary M.D. by King's College Aberdeen as early as 1708 - an indication that his interest in medicine dated back to his college days. In 1758 he was made an honorary Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh, probably for disclosing the recipe of Dr. James's Fever Powder.

Although the collection of medical books began with the classics of Greek medicine, modern medicine for the Duke commenced during the Renaissance, with Vesalius and Harvey, and the medical systematizers of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. There are very few works cited in Lester S. King's surveys of the history of medicine and medical theories between 1650 and 1750 that were not found on the shelves of Argyll's library. Works from the late seventeenth century onwards display a marked Newtonian and iatromechanical bias to the collection. Books on public health and sanitation were well represented, including fifty-seven works on the plague, eleven of which date from 1720 to 1722 - the period of the Marseilles outbreak. His interest in epidemics and public health extended to the writings of John Pringle and James Lind on the health of soldiers and sailors, as well as the works of others who had addressed similar problems, both in English and French. The latest imprint in this category seems to be Stephen Hales's 1756 treatise on the distillation of seawater, designed to improve the water supply for ships at sea. It also contained an account of Hales's work on ventilators. There was a considerable number of books on venereal diseases, and many treatises on fever.

The Duke's medical collection also contained many major works in anatomy and surgery. Most of his thirty-one surgical works were recent publications, and described such procedures as cutting for the stone according to William Cheselden' s method, the couching of cataracts (also in the manner of Cheselden), childbirth according to François Mauriceau and William Smellie, inoculation using the methods of his friend Charles Stuart, and amputations following the recommendations of military men of the 1740s. There were also a few recent medical journals, such as the *Medical Essays and Observations,* issued in six volumes by the Philosophical Society of Edinburgh (1733-44). That he kept up with developments in the medical field is evident from the imprint dates of his books. Almost half of the Duke's medical volumes dated from the seventeenth or eighteenth century, and most of those from the seventeenth century were published after 1670. The majority of his eighteenth-century medical books date from 1730 to 1755, with only five acquisitions

made after this period. He strove to keep abreast with Scottish works in every field of medicine.

In view of the Duke's activities as a major collector and cultivator of plants (his gardens grew over three hundred trees and shrubs as well as many other plants),[21] it is hardly surprizing that his collection of botanical books was substantial. He had all the notable seventeenth-century British natural histories, as well as the taxonomic systems based on famous gardens. Regional flora were represented by Mark Catesby on the Carolinas [Large Display Case], Albrecht von Haller on the Alps, Steven Blankaart on Dutch plants, and those of the Paris area by Denis Joncquet. Other volumes described the flora of Ireland, Sweden, Lapland, Silesia, Greece, Sicily, Crete, Egypt, Siberia, Canada, Virginia, and Madagascar. Many of these books were lavishly illustrated, few more so than the herbal of the Count Palatine (1737), illustrated by Elizabeth Blackwell. The last additions of botanical books to the library were apparently made in the 1750s. At that time Argyll was particularly interested in the work of Newtonians like Stephen Hales and James Logan of Philadelphia, but the writings of earlier men like Nehemiah Grew were also to be found here.

In the eighteenth century, botany overlapped with pharmacy or *materia medica* on the one hand, and with agriculture on the other. Books on pharmacy abounded, while agricultural books were generally located elsewhere in the library. Argyll's knowledge of pharmacy enabled him to make up the pills and elixirs which he is said to have dispensed to his friends.[22]

Argyll's collection of chemistry books was notably modern. He seems to have owned very few volumes on alchemy, as only three of the folios appear to have alchemical terms in the title. While he had some sixteenth-century texts, such as Vannoccio Biringuccio's and Giambattista Della Porta's, most of his chemical books reflected chemistry as it had emerged under Robert Boyle and the Newtonians. He owned all or most of the chemical treatises of Boyle and Hermann Boerhaave and their followers, as well as the works of J.C. Barchusen, Friedrich Hoffmann, Nicolas Lémery, G.E. Stahl, and P.J. Macquer. A number of the Duke's chemistry books dealt with practical methods of bleaching and dyeing, salt making, tanning, and other processes that reflected his own particular interests, such as the making of porcelain. For him chemistry was a serious avocation, connected with his efforts to be a well-informed improver. His interest in chemistry resulted in his patronage of famous scientists, like William Cullen, Joseph Black, Francis Home, and probably James Hutton, and to an aquaintance with a number of lesser known Scottish chemists and

amateurs, all of whom shared his interest in industrial or agricultural chemical processes.

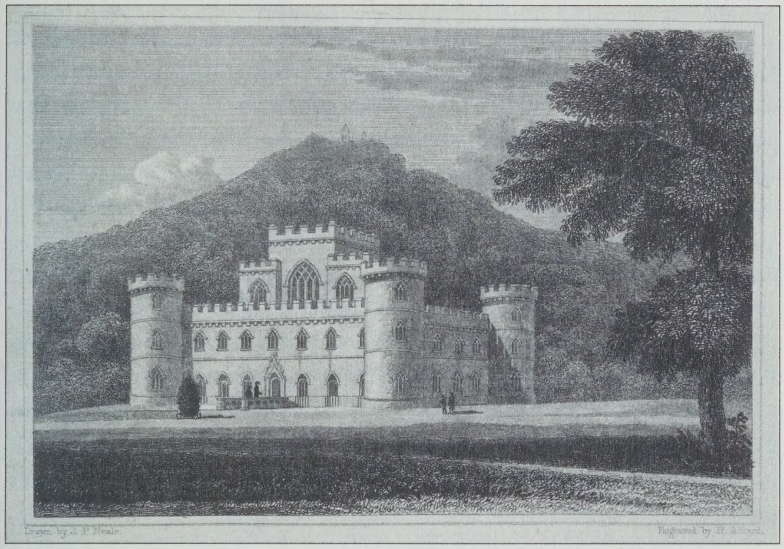
The books in the *Philosophici & c.* category contained little but natural philosophy, a topic which, to some extent, overlapped with the next part of the collection, mathematics. Argyll was less interested in morals and metaphysics, than in physical nature and the revelation of her secrets. This category began with books which discussed the natural world in general, natural histories of particular places, things, and processes, all of which reveal the innate goodness of nature, governed by laws designed by a deistical god. Histories of experimental physics followed, including complete runs of the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society of London, the *Mémoires de l'Académie des sciences*, the publications of the academies of St. Petersburg, Berlin, and Uppsala, and the first two volumes of the *Essays and Observations, Physical and Literary* of the Philosophical Society of Edinburgh. Books that treated natural phenomena, such as fire, electricity, earthquakes, winds, etc., were followed by those of flora and fauna. Works on the animal creation included humans, which were treated in Lord Chief Justice Sir Matthew Hales's *The Primitive Origination of Mankind* (written in 1654, but not published until 1677). Next were the various arts practised by humans, including such technical activities as perfumery, papermaking, brewing, boat building, and the manufacture of Pennsylvania fireplaces. As a landowner, the Duke naturally took a keen interest in agriculture, which was reflected in books on the management and improvement of estates. The writings of L.J.M. Columella, John Evelyn's treatise on forest trees, the classic work of Jethro Tull, Philip Miller's *Gardeners Dictionary* [Case 1], and many other books on farming and gardening were acquired for the edification and amusement of this planter of hundreds of thousands of trees, and cultivator of wasteland in England and Scotland.

At the end of this section were the philosophy books, including those by G.F. Pico della Mirandola, Marsilio Ficino, Pietro Pomponazzi, and Agrippa von Nettesheim. From the seventeenth century the major thinkers - Sir Francis Bacon, Thomas Hobbes, Lord Herbert of Cherbury, Henry More, John Locke, Edward Stillingfleet, John Glanvill, René Descartes, Nicolas Malebranche, Blaise Pascal, G.W. Leibniz (including the Clarke-Leibniz controversy) - were all represented. From the eighteenth century we find Bishop Berkeley, Edmund Law, and the works of the deists and sceptics. Argyll's interest in Scotland was manifest in the many books in this section written by Scots, such as Francis Hutcheson's *A*

Short Introduction to Moral Philosophy (1753) [Reading Room Case] Professor Archibald Campbell's *Arete-logia, or, An Enquiry into the Original of Moral Virtue* (1728), and William Duncan's *Elements of Logic* (1748), but curiously none of the works of Hume, which were shelved elsewhere. The philosophy section ended with eighteen books on logic, rhetoric, and eloquence, and, curiously, with Hoyle's *The Polite Gamester: Containing Short Treatises on the Games of Whist, Quadrille, Back-Gammon, Picquet and Chess.*

Argyll's books on philosophy, the sciences, and the arts reflect the continuum running from theory to implementation. Some attention was paid to the inductive method of Bacon which insisted on the gathering of facts before the construction of theories. But the cataloguing scheme also validates practical human activities such as agriculture, which are not usually associated with philosophy. Works on agriculture were supplemented by books on gardening, carpentry, japanning, apiculture, forestry, deer raising, dyeing, papermaking, silk production, perfumery, brewing, farriery, and for a man who liked to eat well, ten cookbooks. Interspersed throughout the section are a number of histories and biographies, such as John Ward's *The Lives of the Professors of Gresham College* (1740), and Thomas Stanley's *The History of Philosophy*, which includes the biographies of the ancient philosophers.

Argyll's collection of mathematical books was outstanding. Of the 1,164 titles (1,276 volumes), 305 were folios, and comprised a comprehensive collection of the mathematics of antiquity, pride of place going to the fourteen editions of Euclid's *Elements*. The works of the great sixteenth- and seventeenth-century thinkers, both in pure and applied mathematics, seem equally complete. This was the oldest part of the library. The Duke attempted to acquire the first or best editions of significant recent mathematicians, like Tycho Brahe, Johannes Kepler, Simon Stevin, and even those of such secondary figures as Girolamo Cardano, Thomas Hariot, and Johannes Sturm. About two-thirds of the folio volumes dated from the seventeenth century and only a quarter from the eighteenth century - a fact that reflected the decrease in the printing of the heritage of the past, and the increased output of publication on the contemporary specialized topics that interested Argyll. Of the quartos, about half dated from the seventeenth century, and well over a third from the eighteenth century, most of them published after 1730. The proportion of eighteenth-century octavos increased - an indication that Argyll also kept up with mathematics.



Inveraray Castle, built by the Duke of Argyll in 1743. Engraved by H. Adlard, after J.P.Neale. (From Jones' *Views of the Seats, Mansions, Castles, &c. of Noblemen and Gentlemen in England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland.* Vol. 4: Series of Scottish Seats. London [1829])

As a pure mathematician, he was principally interested in geometry and calculus, but also in algebra, number theory, arithmetic, and probability theory. There was a smattering of works, such as Bishop Berkeley's attacks on calculus, which were addressed to a popular but still learned audience composed of men like himself. There were also some textbooks, often by Scottish teachers, such as Professors Robert Simson of Glasgow, Colin Maclaurin and Matthew Stewart of Edinburgh, and John Stewart of Marischal College. These were likely to have been gifts. It is perhaps surprising to find a work like Diderot's pre-encyclopedic *Memoires sur différens sujets de mathématiques* (1748) in the collection, since it was not a work of great merit, but it may suggest that Argyll was buying almost everything which looked potentially interesting. His many works on geodesy, navigation, surveying, dialing, and the like complemented his fine collection of instruments and model machines. Most of these texts were modern, and contained practical advice on the construction and repair of ploughs, milling machinery, watches, looms, and much else. The numerous books on the use of mathematical and other instruments suggest that he knew how to use his instruments and to repair his own watches, as one contemporary claimed.

Between 1724 and the time in which the catalogue was published, Argyll had been continuously engaged in building; it is not surprising, therefore, that he should have collected books on architecture. About ten percent of his mathematics books included some discussion of architecture. In this expensive category were approximately sixty folios, many richly illustrated, and including six different editions and commentaries of Vitruvius, as well as the works of Palladio, Vincenzo Scamozzi, Claude Perrault, Inigo Jones, William Kent, and the Duke's own architect on several projects, James Gibbs [Large Display Case]. He also had works in quarto by another of his architects, Robert Morris. Of great interest was Batty and Thomas Langley's *Gothic Architecture*, a work first published in 1741, two years before the Duke began work on building Inveraray Castle, the largest Gothic structure of the time.[23] Closely related to the books on architecture were those on military engineering, fortification, and gunnery.

The library held a number of treatises on the construction and use of the telescope and microscope, books on astronomy (among them, Kepler's *Tabulæ Rudolphinæ*, John Flamsteed's stellar observations, together with those made at the Paris observatory by the Cassinis) and tables useful to navigators, calculators, and theoreticians. The presence of these books suggests that the Duke was sufficiently proficient in mathematics to do the calculations that serious astronomy demanded. Through his astronomy books he could trace the debates over the system of the world and the motions of its component parts. There was even room for the cosmological ruminations of Robert Fludd and William Whiston, but there were few books on imaginary voyages to the moon, which were popular at that time.

Argyll owned several editions of Newton's *Principia* [Case 8] and commentaries on it, ranging from the textbooks of Petrus van Musschenbroek [Case 1] and Colin Maclaurin, to the popular expositions of Henry Pemberton, Voltaire, and Francesco Algarotti. Few authors mentioned in Robert E. Schofield's *Mechanism and Materialism* are not found on the pages of the catalogue. The Duke was as familiar with the work of Jakob and Jean Bernoulli, Leonhard Euler, Bernard Nieuwentyt, J. d'Alembert, and the academicians of Paris, as he was with their counterparts in London and Edinburgh. Little historical material was shelved in this part of the collection, but books on musical theory, perspective, vision, and optics were all kept here. As in other categories of the library, topics progressed from the general to the particular. For example, beginning with geometry, one continued with arithmetic, algebra, limits and fluxions,

trigonometry, logarithms, and advanced to their application in astronomy, geodesy, cartography, navigation, mechanics, engineering, architecture, and the theory of art and music.

The final category of the library was entitled *Miscellanei*. One of its largest components was devoted to geography and travel. The Duke owned forty-three volumes of maps in folio, and an equal number of topographical descriptions. In quarto the maps diminish in number to nine, but the voyages and descriptions increase to fifty-eight, while in octavo there were sixteen maps and gazetteers, and 118 travel books and topographical works. In all, there were seventy volumes of maps, plus some single sheet maps, and at least 219 volumes of travels and voyages, encompassing most regions of the world. Many of the older books described the first impressions of the Europeans of overseas lands. Argyll also owned many recent publications, for example, William Douglass' accounts of European settlements in North America. These were but two items from a collection which described the whole of the Americas from 1492 to his day. Altogether, these books recorded the history of the development of the non-European world as it had been affected by the Spanish, Portuguese, French, Dutch, and British from the beginning of the sixteenth century. Interestingly, many of these accounts were written by men whom Argyll knew or might have met in London.

Another large portion of *Miscellanei*, amounting to two-hundred items in octavo alone, was dedicated to economics, and included Jacques Savary's *Dictionnaire universel de commerce,* and Malachy Postlethwayt's works on commerce. They were accompanied by works on taxes, tariffs, colonies, various trades and industries, money, and interest. Others discussed the problems associated with Britain's re-coinage during the 1690s. It was in this section that one found David Hume's *Essays and Treatises on Several Subjects* (1753-56), and the mercantilist works with which Hume argued. Two principal themes predominated among the books on economics: the affairs of Scotland and banking. The Scottish economy had occupied Argyll's mind since at least 1705 when he became the Lord Treasurer of Scotland. Other concerns of that period in which he was personally involved are evident from the Darien pamphlets, Union tracts, items on the linen trade, fisheries, and the wool and iron manufactories, which were all assiduously collected. These publications reflected not only his political role, but also his own activity in currency, stocks, mortgages, and commodities. Virtually every conceivable trade was represented, as, too, were all aspects of public finance. In economic matters,

Argyll was extremely well informed, and became one of the founders of the Royal Bank of Scotland in 1728, and the British Linen Bank in 1743.

Another part of *Miscellanei* was devoted to literature, predominantly English poetry commencing with Chaucer. Argyll's collection of poetry was impressive, but there was little prose fiction in his library. Among the novelists he did possess were Aphra Behn and Daniel Defoe. He also read the literary criticism of John Dryden, Thomas Rymer, John Dennis, and Alexander Pope and his circle. As one might expect, there were many Scottish authors, ranging from the fifteenth century to Argyll's day.

After English, the greatest quantity of literary works was in French, with Italian works a close third. Argyll possessed works by the greater poets, beginning with Pierre de Ronsard and the Pléiade, humanists such as François Rabelais, Jean Bodin, and Montaigne, all the notable dramatists, moralists like Jean de La Bruyère and La Rochfoucauld, and the critical works of Boileau. He had some of the writings of the *erudits*, such as Naudé and François de La Mothe Le Vayer. Among contemporary writers were J.B. Massillon, Fénelon, Bernard Le Bovier Fontenelle, Jean Le Clerc, the abbé de Saint-Pierre, A.R. Le Sage, and the abbé Prevost. He also appeared to have a liking for imaginary travel accounts, as a substantial number of this genre were among his books, including *The Turkish Spy,* Simon Tyssot de Patot's *Lettres choisies,* Montesquieu's *Lettres persanes*, and the *Lettres d'une Peruvienne* of Mme. de Graffigny. He owned some Voltaire, but in general did not collect the *philosophes*.

Significant Italian authors in the collection included Petrarch, Dante, Boccacio, Angelo Poliziano, Lodovico Guicciardini, Pietro Aretino, Stefano Guazzo, Lodovico Ariosto, Pietro Bembo, Torquato Tasso, Battista Guarini, Baldassarre Castiglione, Ferrante Pallavicino, Giovanni Botero and others. Among his Spanish books were accounts of the Spanish discoverers and conquerors, the works of Antonio Perez, at least four editions of Cervantes, several editions of the poet Luis de Góngora y Argote, the plays of Francisco de Rojas Zorrilla and Lope de Vega, and a six-volume quarto set of the *Theatro critico universal* of B.J. Feijoo. There can be little doubt that he read Italian and Spanish with ease. In contrast, there were very few works in Portuguese, Dutch, or German.

The final portion of *Miscellanei* contained biographies, which reflected Argyll's interest in, and curiosity about, people. Prominent were genealogies of the peerage, accounts of the notable families of various regions, memoirs, such as Gilbert Burnet's *History of my Own Time*, royal biographies, the lives of philosophers, mathematicians, physicians and

scientists, artists and teachers, and even one book about famous highwaymen.

The *Catalogus Librorum* tells us much about the Duke's enlightenment. It was stimulated and inspired, as was the enlightenment of many others in Scotland and elsewhere, by the sciences of the period. Scientific progress engendered optimism and confidence in the ability of rational beings to solve their problems and to improve the world. Science also informed Argyll's religious views, and his critical rationalism led him to be more tolerant than many of his fellow-countrymen. His secular, utilitarian, and progressive outlook also influenced his politics, as did his adherence to the pieties of the theory of natural law. He read republican writers, but his grounding in the classics, together with his general belief in the rule of the landed, wealthy, and educated, caused him to oppose radical change from any place but the top. For him true liberty was doing what one ought to do. He was a life-long mercantilist and a political realist, who sought order at home, and a balance of power abroad which would allow for the expansion of British interests. He paid some attention to the arts, but tended to be constrained by classical standards, although he made some concession to modernity in his taste for Gothic structures and Chinoiserie. The pleasure he took in his books was clearly derived in part from his sense of the continuity of history and of human nature, combined with the excitement he felt in the spectacle of a changing world, of man's understanding of that world, and of the prospects which it offered to those who could master it. In all this he was typical of many of the enlightened men of his time. He shared their complex relation to the past and to the future they were shaping. The future he shaped most profoundly was that of Scotland, which increasingly began to resemble him and to share his interests, as he placed more and more men in its defining institutions. Without this Duke, the Scottish Enlightenment would have been quite different.

NOTES

1 The most recent account of his political career is by John Stuart Shaw, *The Political History of Eighteenth-Century Scotland* (Houndmills, Basingstoke & London, 1999), 38-107 *passim*.

2 He had "at a moderate computation settled fifty-four thousand individuals in civil and military employments" - a rate of approximately one thousand per year; see "A North Briton", *A Letter to the Author of the North Briton...with ...a Character... of Archibald, late Duke of Argyll* (London, 1763), 42.

3 The following men owed their appointments to his patronage. Glasgow Professors: Francis Hutcheson, John Simson, Robert Simson, John Anderson, Joseph Black, William Cullen, Robert and Thomas Hamilton, William Ruat, Adam Smith, Alexander Wilson. Edinburgh Professors: Charles Erskine (Lord Tinwald) Colin Maclaurin, Francis Home, James Russell, Matthew Stewart, William Robertson, and Robert Whytt of Benochie. St. Andrews Professors: Archibald Campbell, Robert Watson. Marischal College Professors: James Beattie, George Campbell, William Duncan, and Francis and George Skene. King's College Professors: John Lumsden. The Courts and administrative agencies of Scotland: Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun, Sir Gilbert Elliot of Minto, Alexander Fraser of Strichen, Henry Home of Kames, Andrew Pringle of Hawk Hill, Thomas Miller of Glenlee, James, Lord Deskford, Lord Provost George Drummond, and Alexander Lind of Gorgie. Moderators in the Kirk: William Hamilton, William Wishart II, George Wishart, Robert Hamilton, Patrick Cumming, William Leechman, and Robert Trail. Among military men: James Gibbs, Major Dougal Campbell, James Lind, Generals James St Clair and James Abercromby, and Colonel Sir Harry Erskine. Among the artists and literary men from Scotland: William Aikman, William, Robert, James and John Adam, Allan Ramsay senior and junior, James Norrie, and John Home.

4 Roger L. Emerson, *Professors, Patronage and Politics: the Aberdeen Universities in the Eighteenth Century* (Aberdeen, 1992).

5 Edmund and Dorothy Smith Berkeley, *Dr. John Mitchell: the Man Who Made the Map of North America* (Chapel Hill, 1974), 245.

6 The building was razed in 1864 or 1865; Ian G. Lindsay and Mary Cosh, *Inveraray and the Dukes of Argyll* (Edinburgh, 1973), 354 n.43.

7 Lindsay and Cosh, *Inveraray*, 10, 354 n. 43.

8 [Joel Henrietta Pye?] *A Short Account of the Principal Seats and Gardens in and about Richmond and Kew* (Brentford [1763?]), 14-15; also cited in Smith Berkeley, *Dr. John Mitchell*, 121. The most recent description of Whitton is found in Mark Laird, *The Flowering of the Landscape Garden: English Pleasure Grounds, 1720-1800* (Philadelphia, 1999), 83-88.

9 The catalogues in his possession were mostly for past sales. Others appear to have been guides to collections. Among his fifteen quarto catalogues were those for the following libraries: Corbin, Hemmiana, Norfolciana, Vander Walle, Slusiana, Bentesiana, Gudii. Of the fifty-seven octavo catalogues he possessed, forty-six fall into the period 1700-1753 with perhaps thirty-eight before 1730. This too suggests that much of his buying had been before 1742.

10 Anderson to Argyll (n.d.); Anderson to Argyll[?] (n.d.); National Library of Scotland, Advocates MSS 29.3.4\134; 139.

11 "Book bill from Alex. Kincaid 4 April 1745", NLS MS 17819\56; "Kincaid & Donaldson Acct. 1749-1754", NLS MS 17624\83-85; "Acct. of Gavin Hamilton", 8 December 1753-11 November 1754, NLS MS 17624\89.

12 Hume also humourously noted that the Duke should be pleased that he had not had the *Essays* dedicated to him or been burdened with Hume's presence among the other job seekers at the ducal levees. *The Letters of David Hume*, ed. J.Y.T. Greig, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1969); 1:113. Adam Smith also sent his *Theory of Moral Sentiments* to the Duke in 1759; ibid. 1:303.

13 This is the conclusion I draw from the accounts with Kincaid noted above.

14 Argyll had at least 2698 folio volumes, 3177 quartos, and 5227 other volumes of smaller format.

15 Alexander MacBean or MacBayne is named as compiler in an MS note on the fly-leaf of one of the copies of the catalogue held at Glasgow University Library, once belonging to the Glasgow antiquary, David Murray. MacBean may have been the Aberdeenshire clergyman of that name.

16 Jean Garnier, *Systema bibliothecæ collegii Parisiensis Societatis Jesu* (Paris, 1678).

17 An outline of this is given in L.-A.-C. Hesse, *Manuels-Roret: Bibliothèconomie, ou Nouveau manuel complet pour l'arrangement, la conservation et l'administration des bibliothèques.* Nouv. éd. (Paris, 1841), 130-132.

18 This and the quotations which follow are taken from Archer Taylor's translation of Gabriel Naudé, *Advice on Establishing a Library* (Berkeley, 1950), 63-69 (the chapter entitled "Arranging the Books").

19 For an account of Newton's historical and chronological studies see Frank E. Manuel, *Isaac Newton: Historian* (Cambridge, Mass., 1963).

20 See *Letters of George Lockhart of Carnwarth, 1698-1732*, ed. Daniel Szechi [Scottish History Society, 5th ser., v. 2] (Edinburgh, 1989), xv.

21 The best account of his garden and botanical work is Michael Symes, Alison Hodges and John Harvey, "The Plantings at Whitton", *Garden History* 14 (1986): 138-72; see also Laird (n.8).

22 This seems to have been something of a family trait, since his cousin of the same name (who became a non-juring Bishop of Aberdeen) left a huge manuscript book of remedies which he seems to have made up himself. See "A Book of Receipts", NLS MS 3773.

23 The first sketch of a Gothic plan for this building was drawn up by Vanbrugh ca.1720 for the second Duke of Argyll; see Lindsay and Cosh, *Inveraray*, 41-42.

The Book in the Scottish Enlightenment

BY RICHARD SHER

CONTEMPLATING PUBLISHERS, AUTHORS, AND BOOKS

In order to understand the nature of the book in the Scottish Enlightenment, the more or less simultaneous rise to prominence during the eighteenth century of Scots as leading figures in the book trade, and Scots as authors, must be seen as two aspects of the same phenomenon. Of course, Scotland had a long tradition of humanist and virtuosi learning and scholarship throughout the early modern period, and a number of Scotsmen had distinguished themselves as authors, as well as printers and booksellers, from the sixteenth through the early eighteenth centuries. Yet nothing before the 1740s gave adequate warning of what would occur in the heyday of the mature Scottish Enlightenment. During the middle and late eighteenth century, the Scottish book trade expanded into a major industry, capable of producing hundreds of books each year – including some outstanding examples of fine printing, particularly by the Foulis brothers of Glasgow [Reading Room Case]. The trade also exported quite a few practitioners from its own ranks to other places, notably London and Philadelphia, where they sometimes formed fruitful connections with their brethren in Scotland and elsewhere. At the same time, Scottish men of letters began to distinguish themselves *en masse* as the authors of new books on a wide range of scholarly topics. It was, more than anything else, the perception of a rather sudden emergence of large numbers of Scots as major figures in the republic of letters that turned contemporary heads and created the impression, still with us today, that Scotland had somehow transformed itself into a formidable centre of learning during the eighteenth century. The international fame of well-known Scottish authors such as David Hume, Adam Smith, William Robertson, and Hugh Blair was precisely what Tobias Smollett had in mind in 1771, when he dubbed Edinburgh – capital of both the Scottish book trade and the Scottish literati – "a hot-bed of genius".

It is perhaps a truism that the major books of the Scottish Enlightenment were written by Scots. But is it not also worth noting that most of

them were initially published (and often printed) by Scots, whether in Edinburgh, London, or both? In fact, the overwhelming majority of new and important titles by the Scottish literati were produced by a handful of firms in Edinburgh, associated with Gavin Hamilton, John Balfour, Alexander Kincaid, John Bell, William Creech, and Charles Elliot, and a similar number of firms in London, associated with Andrew Millar, Thomas Cadell senior and junior, William Davies, William Strahan, Andrew Strahan, and John Murray. Despite occasional rivalries among themselves, these firms were often linked to each other and sometimes to other booksellers, such as Bell's London publishing partner George Robinson. Although the names of most of these publishers are little known today, they played a crucial role in the making of the Scottish Enlightenment. The books on display in this exhibition, therefore, should be regarded as the productions not merely of the authors whose names have remained familiar to scholars of the period, but also of the members of the book trade who collaborated with them in putting the Scottish Enlightenment into print.

Of all those responsible for publishing the works of the Scottish Enlightenment, the most significant were two interlocking firms founded by Scots in London: Andrew Millar and William Strahan. Millar established what would eventually become the largest book selling firm in Britain. The son of a prominent Presbyterian minister from Paisley, Millar decided not to follow his father into the ministry, as two of his brothers did, but instead became the apprentice of the Scottish bookseller and printer James M'Euen. Since M'Euen maintained bookshops in London as well as Edinburgh, Millar got the chance to migrate to London and, by 1728, to set himself up as an independent bookseller in the Strand.

In the annals of English literature, Millar is perhaps best known as the man who prodded Samuel Johnson into completing his *Dictionary*, and who published the novels of Henry Fielding. But he never lost sight of his Scottish identity and delighted in publishing new books by his countrymen. The Anglo-Scottish poet James Thomson, author of *The Seasons*, was his special friend and one of the principal authors on whom his early publishing career was built. In the latter part of his career Millar took a particular interest in publishing new scholarly work by Scottish authors. In this process he was assisted by the Scottish printer William Strahan, who had also migrated to London and who worked closely with Millar for many years, building in the process Britain's largest printing business. Millar also benefited from a close relationship with the Edinburgh bookseller and printer Alexander Kincaid, with whose firm he co-published

some of the writings of David Hume and other major authors of the Scottish Enlightenment, including, during the period when John Bell was Kincaid's junior partner, Adam Smith's *Theory of Moral Sentiments* in 1759 [Case 7], Thomas Reid's *An Inquiry into the Human Mind* in 1764 [Case 7], Lord Kames's *Elements of Criticism* in 1762 [Case 7], and Adam Ferguson's *An Essay on the History of Civil Society* in 1767 [Case 3].

By the time Ferguson's book appeared, the real force behind Millar's firm was Thomas Cadell, his former apprentice, now partner, who would succeed Millar after the latter's retirement in the mid-1760s and death in 1768. Over the course of the next seventeen years, Cadell and William Strahan would collaborate in building a much larger publishing empire than Millar's, and the books of the Scottish Enlightenment would constitute its core. A generation later this collaborative relationship was continued by William Strahan's son and successor, Andrew, and Cadell's son and successor, Thomas Cadell junior, paired with his former apprentice, William Davies, as Cadell & Davies. Along with their main associates in Edinburgh, John Balfour and William Creech, they would continue to publish the most important new scholarly work by Scottish authors, who were often generously compensated. Hume, Smith, Robertson, Blair, Ferguson, Reid, Robert Wallace, John Home, Lord Kames, James Beattie, George Campbell, Robert Watson, Sir James Steuart, John Gregory, William Cullen, Sir James Dalrymple, Lord Monboddo, Alexander Gerard, James Macpherson, James Fordyce, John Moore, James Dunbar, John Millar, and James Hutton are among the authors of the Scottish Enlightenment with at least one (and usually more) of their major works originally published in one form or another by this loose-knit publishing and printing syndicate.

Impressive as this list of Scottish authors is, it should not be allowed to obscure the element of contingency and individuality in the book history of the Scottish Enlightenment. Every work has its own tale of generation and reception, involving authors, members of the book trade, and ultimately the book-reading and book-buying public. These stories cannot be told, however, until we recognize that books differ fundamentally from texts. Of course, books serve as homes for texts, but they are also physical artifacts, commodities, status symbols, and much more. They come in a variety of sizes and shapes, are published and marketed in different ways, and vary in other respects that tend to be ignored by intellectual historians, text editors, and other scholars for whom books as such are usually irrelevant, because their attention is focused so closely on texts.

David Hume. Oil painting by Allan Ramsay, 1766.

CONSTRUCTING DAVID HUME

The essays and philosophical writings of David Hume provide a good illustration of the points discussed above. It is well known that Hume's *A Treatise of Human Nature* [Case 7] was a commercial failure upon its publication in 1739-40, and would not appear in print again during the eighteenth century. It is also well known that Hume responded to that setback during the years 1741 to 1752 by producing moral and political essays of a more accessible kind, and by reformulating the philosophical ideas in his *Treatise* in a pair of "enquiries" on human understanding and the principles of morals. Literary historians have probed the rhetorical aspects of this process; historians of philosophy have examined its philo-

sophical implications; and the editors of critical editions of Hume's works have studied, often with painstaking care, the way that words and even marks of punctuation have differed from one edition to the next. But all of them are first and foremost historians of ideas, concerned with Hume's texts rather than with his books.

That is why one of Hume's works is scarcely ever mentioned in the Hume literature: *Essays and Treatises on Several Subjects* [Case 4]. First published by Andrew Millar in London (partially in collaboration with Alexander Kincaid and his junior partner, Alexander Donaldson, in Edinburgh), in four duodecimo volumes that initially appeared in 1753, *Essays and Treatises* was not a new work at all, but rather a compilation of Hume's previously published moral, political, and philosophical essays and enquiries. Like the independently published editions of those works, the first edition of *Essays and Treatises* was small and cheap. It also had a slapdash quality because it had been put together out of a combination of newly reset volumes and reissues of existing volumes, sometimes with cancel title pages and sometimes with the original title pages.[1] For this reason, the component parts did not match up very well. Volume 1, *Essays Moral and Political*, was marked the fourth edition, though some copies were actually reissues of the third edition of 1748, with a cancel title page dated 1753; volume 2, *Philosophical Essays concerning Human Understanding* (later known as the *Enquiry concerning Human Understanding*), was at first a reissue of the second edition of 1751, with a 1753 title page added, then reset in 1756 as the third edition; volume 3, the *Enquiry concerning the Principles of Morals*, was initially a reissue of the first edition of that work from 1751, sometimes with a cancel title page marked 1753, then reset as the second edition, also 1753; volume 4, *Political Discourses*, was at first a reissue of the second edition of 1752, with a cancel title page marked second edition 1753, then reset with the same title page, then reset again as the third edition, dated 1754.

Why go to all this trouble? One would never know the answer from reading the brief autobiography that Hume wrote more than two decades later, *My Own Life*, even though that work is largely concerned with the history of his publications. Hume indicates there that, in rewriting portions of his *Treatise* as the two enquiries, he was acting on the principle that the failure of the *Treatise* "had proceeded more from the manner than the matter".[2] Yet it is obvious that the mere act of reformulating key parts of the *Treatise* as separate publications was not the solution to his problem, because in his autobiography he states that upon its publication in 1748 the

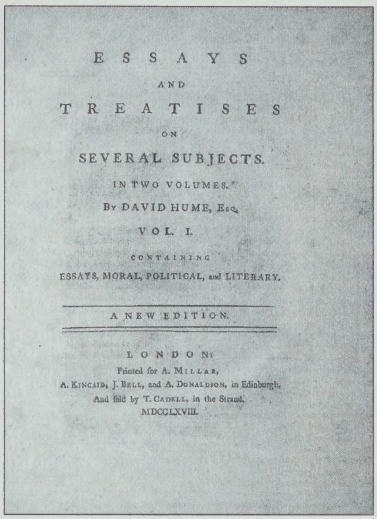
enquiry on human understanding "was at first but little more successful than the Treatise of human Nature" and "met not with a much better reception" when reprinted in a second edition in 1751, and that the enquiry on morals "came unnoticed and unobserved into the World" when originally published in 1751. He further remarks that, as he was composing the enquiry on morals and political discourses around 1750-51, he was encouraged by his bookseller (i.e., publisher), Andrew Millar, who informed him "that my former Publications (all but the unfortunate Treatise) were beginning to be the Subject of Conversation, that the Sale of them was gradually encreasing, and that new Editions were demanded". A comment about his *Political Discourses* of 1752 [Case 2] being the only one of his books "that was successful on the first Publication" is the last reference Hume makes to his non-historical publications in the autobiography, except for a brief mention of his *Four Dissertations* receiving an "indifferent Reception" upon its appearance in 1757. *Essays and Treatises on Several Subjects* is never mentioned at all. Instead, after a discussion of his *History of England*, Hume rather abruptly observes that "notwithstanding this Variety of Winds and Seasons, to which my Writings had been exposed, they had still been making such Advances, that the Copy Money, given me by the Booksellers, much exceeded any thing formerly known in England: I was become not only independent, but opulent".

From the standpoint of book history, Hume's account is misleading. Whatever encouragement Millar may have given him about the growing interest in his work, and whatever modest success *Political Discourses* may have enjoyed upon its initial publication, the fact is that Hume in 1752 had written and published a great deal, but had little to show for it. His works were not widely known in general, and what are now considered, along with the *Treatise of Human Nature*, the most important of his philosophical works, the two *Enquiries*, had made almost as small a mark in the republic of letters as the book from which they were derived. He certainly had not reaped much financial benefit from his career as an author, and his standing as a man of letters was generally unimpressive. In this context, *Essays and Treatises on Several Subjects* constituted a brilliant marketing ploy by Hume and his publishers. Reissuing the individual books making up *Essays and Treatises* as a unified set was, among other things, a way to jump-start sales that had been, generally speaking, sluggish. Although the order of the volumes was chronological, the effect was to sandwich the more abstract, philosophically rigorous, and potentially controversial

enquiries (volumes 2 and 3) between the more accessible essays (volume 1) and political discourses (volume 4), buffering the most challenging elements of Hume's thought and enabling them to acquire a degree of commercial popularity that it is unlikely they ever would have acquired on their own. And since the whole four-volume package was priced at fourteen shillings, it was affordable as well. Combined with the *History of England*, which began to appear in 1754, *Essays and Treatises on Several Subjects* was the book that would enable Hume to become "opulent" from his writing. It was therefore a key factor in the change of "manner" that transformed Hume into a best-selling philosophical author.

Nor was this all. In addition to repackaging Hume's essays and enquiries in a single, multi-volume work, *Essays and Treatises on Several Subjects* also repackaged Hume himself as an author. It gave him a coherent identity as a philosophical writer. In 1758 this process was carried to the next level with the publication of the first quarto edition of *Essays and Treatises*, incorporating *Four Dissertations* within its philosophical compass [Case 4]. This one-volume, comprehensive edition raised Hume as a philosophical author to the highest status of authorship, worthy of publication in the large, expensive quarto format that was reserved for the libraries of the well-to-do. It also carried the principle of coherence and unity to its logical conclusion, and made it possible for an individual to own a matching set of Hume's historical and philosophical writings by binding in an identical manner the volumes of the *History of England* (as they appeared in quarto during the 1750s and early 1760s) and the quarto edition of the *Essays and Treatises*. In addition, the chronological organization of the 1753 edition gave way to a new, more logical structure, standard from 1758 onward, that placed the moral, literary, and political essays (regardless of where they were originally published) in the front of the book, followed by the two enquiries and two pieces from *Four Dissertations*.

The one-volume quarto edition of *Essays and Treatises* that appeared in 1758 was not the end of the story. In 1760 Millar and his Edinburgh partners published a new four-volume duodecimo edition [Case 4], designed to be affordable like the first edition of 1753, but with a more unified appearance. In 1768, with Cadell in command in London and Bell partnered with Kincaid in Edinburgh, the booksellers moved back in the opposite direction, by publishing a magnificent quarto edition in two volumes, which was the first of Hume's publications to feature his portrait as a frontispiece [Case 4]. Comparing random pages from the 1758 and

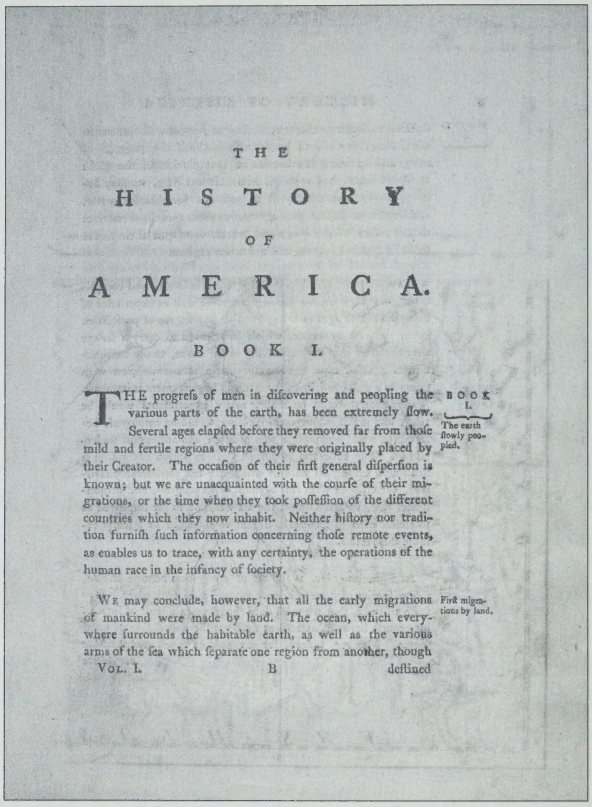

ESSAYS
AND
TREATISES
ON
SEVERAL SUBJECTS.
IN TWO VOLUMES.
By DAVID HUME, Esq.
VOL. I.
CONTAINING
ESSAYS, MORAL, POLITICAL, and LITERARY.
A NEW EDITION.
LONDON:
Printed for A. MILLAR,
A. KINCAID, J. BELL, and A. DONALDSON, in Edinburgh.
And sold by T. CADELL, in the Strand.
MDCCLXVIII.

The magnificent second quarto edition of Hume's *Essays and Treatises on Several Subjects* (London, 1768), was the first to feature the author's portrait as a frontispiece.

1768 quarto editions reveals the grandeur of the latter: with only thirty lines and about three hundred words to the quarto page, as opposed to forty-seven lines and about six hundred words, it is literally twice as long, and much more impressive (and, presumably, expensive) on that account. For the remainder of the century, *Essays and Treatises on Several Subjects*, like the *History of England*, continued to be sold by Cadell and his partners in a number of different formats to suit different price ranges, and Hume went on being both a popular, affordable author and an elite one. *Essays and Treatises* was the foundation for his fame and wealth as a philosopher, even though it is practically invisible in the vast amount of text-oriented scholarship that has appeared on Hume's philosophical writings.

REGARDING ROBERT HENRY

In the summer of 1770 Hume began a letter to his London printer-publisher William Strahan with a famous line: "I believe this is the historical Age and this the historical Nation".[3] The nation Hume had in mind was Scotland, where, he said, at least eight works of history were then being written. Hume's own *History of England* (1754-62) had led the way a few



THE

HISTORY

OF

AMERICA.

BOOK I.

THE progress of men in discovering and peopling the various parts of the earth, has been extremely slow. Several ages elapsed before they removed far from those mild and fertile regions where they were originally placed by their Creator. The occasion of their first general dispersion is known; but we are unacquainted with the course of their migrations, or the time when they took possession of the different countries which they now inhabit. Neither history nor tradition furnish such information concerning those remote events, as enables us to trace, with any certainty, the operations of the human race in the infancy of society.

BOOK I. The earth slowly peopled.

WE may conclude, however, that all the early migrations of mankind were made by land. The ocean, which everywhere surrounds the habitable earth, as well as the various arms of the sea which separate one region from another, though

First migrations by land.

VOL. I. B destined

Opening text page of vol. 1 of William Robertson, *The History of America*. London, 1777.

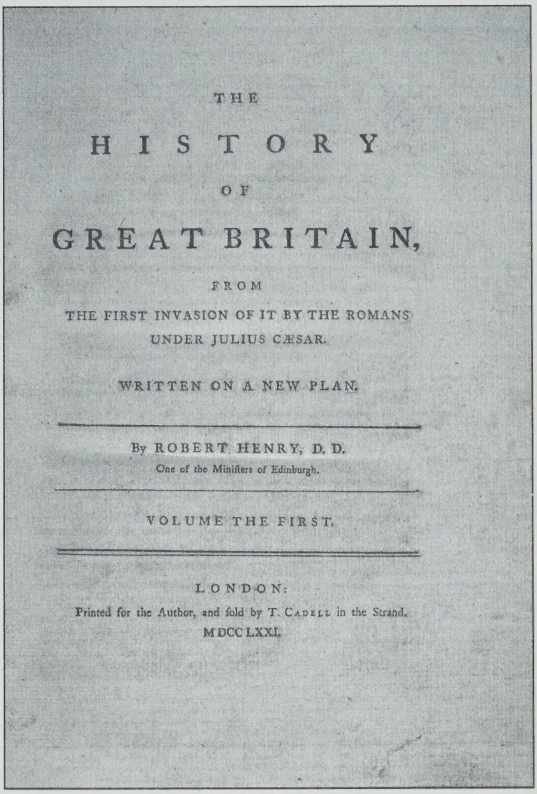
years earlier, and its great success served as a source of emulation for many a Scottish man of letters. An even more influential model was provided by the Presbyterian minister William Robertson, whose two-volume *History of Scotland* (published in 1759 by Andrew Millar) and three-volume *History of the Reign of the Emperor Charles V* (published in 1769 by William Strahan and Thomas Cadell in London and John Balfour in Edinburgh) had demonstrated the possibilities for fame and fortune that multi-volume history could bring. *Charles V* had yielded its author the astonishing fee of £4000. Robertson's third book, the two-volume *History of America* [Case 3], would be published by the same booksellers at a similar rate of compensation. Although it would not finally appear until 1777, *History of America* was one of only three works to which Hume alluded

specifically in his letter to Strahan. Another was an unidentified history of the "Life of Christ", presumably written by another clergyman.[4] The third work, to which Hume devoted most of the letter, was *History of Great Britain* by Robert Henry, who was, like Robertson, one of the sixteen ministers of Edinburgh [Case 3].

The main purpose of this letter was to promote Henry's book, and to express Hume's hope "that you and Mr Cadel may usher it in to the Public" (2:231), much as they had done with Hume's own history and Robertson's *Charles V*. This language is suggestive: the publisher is pictured as a kind of public gatekeeper, who guides a book to its readers the way an usher might direct visitors at a public event to their proper places. Was Hume then recommending that Strahan and his chief publishing partner, Cadell, offer Henry a large amount of money for the publishing rights to his work, the way they had done with Robertson?

Not exactly. For while Hume is full of praise for the completed portion of Henry's history, which is said to contain "a great deal of Good Sense and Learning, convey'd in a perspicuous, natural, and correct Expression" (2:230), and to constitute a performance with "very considerable Merit" (2:231), he is also concerned about the apparent shortcomings of the project. Having so far treated only the period from the Romans to the Saxons, Henry's work had far to go in order to come up to the present, as the author intended it to do, and Hume speculates wildly that the finished history "must contain at least a hundred Volumes" (2:230-31), even though Henry himself believed he could do it in ten. He also fears that, while occupied with the earlier periods of British history, the work will remain "for a long time very uninteresting, which may not prepossess the World in its favour" (2:231). In another letter, written some months later, Hume repeats these criticisms, noting that the author himself believed the project too large for any individual to complete.[5] He agrees with Strahan that the price Henry demanded for his book is "exorbitant". Though written with "Perspicuity and Propriety of Style", and "judicious", the book is "neither sprightly nor elegant", nor "curious", and it might very well appear "prolix to ordinary Readers". All in all, Hume's was not the sort of evaluation that makes publishers in any century rush to offer authors large amounts of money.

The problem was exacerbated by the vast amount that Strahan and his partners had paid William Robertson for the rights to *Charles V*. Most of the authors to whom Hume alludes in his "historical Age ... historical Nation" letter to Strahan probably came from the ranks of the traditionally


THE
HISTORY
OF
GREAT BRITAIN,
FROM
THE FIRST INVASION OF IT BY THE ROMANS
UNDER JULIUS CÆSAR.
WRITTEN ON A NEW PLAN.
By ROBERT HENRY, D. D.
One of the Ministers of Edinburgh.
VOLUME THE FIRST.
LONDON:
Printed for the Author, and sold by T. CADELL in the Strand.
MDCCLXXI.

Title page to vol. 1 of Robert Henry, *The History of Great Britain*. London, 1777.

impoverished Presbyterian clergy of Scotland, who had far fewer opportunities for obtaining lucrative preferments than their counterparts in the Church of England. The situation had created a problem of rising expectations that is recognized by Hume in his first letter to Strahan about Henry: "I wish that Dr Robertson's Success may not have renderd the Author too sanguine in his pecuniary Expectations: I dare advise nothing on that head, of which you are the better Judge" (2:231). But this warning came too late. William Lothian, Joseph McCormick, Robert Watson, and Walter Anderson were among those who were then scribbling away on histories of various topics, in hopes that they could be the next Robertson or Hume, and none wanted to hear that his manuscript was worth only a fraction of the amount they had received. James Boswell was filled with disdain for this development, which he mocked in an anonymous article that

appeared in an Edinburgh newspaper in May 1777, just as Robertson's *History of America* was being published: "Upon the success of Dr Robertson's writing, several of our Scots clergy, who are so fond of imitating the Doctor in every particular, thought they might also like him acquire some of the rewards due to literary merit. For some time we were pestered with historical compositions by Scots clergymen".[6] Strahan's surviving letters to his Edinburgh protégé William Creech from the 1770s and early 1780s are filled with laments about the unreasonable expectations of modern authors, without any apparent awareness of the role that he and his associates had played in creating these circumstances. Strahan and his partners sometimes rejected these manuscripts, as they did William Lothian's *History of the United Provinces of the Netherlands* (1780). Sometimes they took a chance and regretted it after poor sales caused them to lose money on an expensive quarto venture, as apparently happened in the cases of the first two volumes of Walter Anderson's *History of France* (1769) and Joseph McCormick's *State-Papers and Letters, Addressed to William Carstares* (1774). On still other occasions they paid authors large amounts of copy money for a first book and seem to have profited from the experience, as when they paid £800 to Robert Watson for his two-volume *History of the Reign of Philip the Second* (1777) [Case 3], which sold respectably.

What was Strahan to do regarding Robert Henry, in light of Hume's ambivalent assessment of his work? Before answering this question, it will be useful to address two others. First, why did Strahan simply not tell Henry what many a publisher has told hopeful authors after receiving a "good-but-overlong" evaluation of their work from a trusted advisor: we will publish your book if you cut it down to a more manageable size? Answering that question requires us to take into account just what it was that made Henry's project so long and tedious – requires us, in other words, to enter the realm of intellectual history. In his book on the genre of historical writing in eighteenth-century Britain, *Society and Sentiment*, Mark Salber Phillips uses Henry's *History of Great Britain* as a starting point and a paradigm for a shift from traditional (i.e., political and military, elitist, and strictly linear) history to forms of historical writing that included the social realm in their content, and that departed from strict linearity in their narrative structure. Henry's particular way of accomplishing this goal, announced as a "new plan" on the title page of his work, was to provide linear coverage of seven different topics within each of his chronological volumes. Because this framework allowed prominent places for

topics such as the histories of learning, arts, commerce, and manners, Phillips considers Henry's work to be characteristic of a broad process of reconceptualizing the genre of history – and "social knowledge" (7) as a whole – in response to "the social and sentimental interests of the age" (xii). In presenting this material, Henry retains the form of strict linearity in regard to each topic he discusses, and in that sense follows a traditional pattern. Yet the fact that the reader is confronted with seven separate narratives in each volume leads Phillips to speak of Henry's book as an "experiment in simultaneous narrative" (91), because it enables readers to chart their own linear courses through each period – a feature to which Henry himself drew attention in the general preface to his first volume.

Phillips observes that Henry's "new plan", while liberating in the thematic and narrative respects just mentioned, was also extremely limiting from the standpoint of the overall organization of the *History of Great Britain*. Once begun, each volume had to conform to the same "rigid symmetries" of every other volume, by treating the same seven topics in the same sequence and the same linear manner. This constraint was fundamental, not incidental, to Henry's enterprise. As a result, simply asking the author to reduce the size of his book was not an option open to Strahan when considering whether or not to publish it.

Second, why was historical writing worth so much money to the booksellers? After all, at this time the authors of sermons, novels, medical tracts, philosophical treatises, and most other genres could not reasonably hope to sell the publication rights to their manuscripts for large amounts of money. What was so special about history? The logical answer might be that histories sold more than other genres, but that response, in and of itself, is false. William Buchan's *Domestic Medicine* [Case 4] and Hugh Blair's *Sermons*, both published by Strahan and his partners, sold more copies and passed through more editions (at much higher print runs) during the eighteenth century than any work written by William Robertson. Yet Blair received only £100 for the first volume of his *Sermons* in 1777, and £300 (plus occasional gifts from the publishers) for subsequent volumes even after the book had established itself as a runaway bestseller. Buchan was fortunate to sell the rights to a second edition of his book (which appeared in London in 1772) to Strahan and his partners for £500, after a large print run of a self-published first edition of 1769 had sold out. He received £50 in cash or books for every revised edition, and an additional payment of £300 in 1803,[7] but these amounts were not proportionate to the book's sales, at least by the standards of Robertson's histories.

The answer lies in understanding how the status, format, and potential profit of books were determined in the eighteenth century. Histories, especially the histories of great characters, nations, and events, ranked high in the pantheon of literary modes. They were, therefore, entitled to be packaged in handsome quarto formats, which were intended for gentlemen's libraries and could command high prices. By contrast, sermons, popular medical guides, and many other genres could aspire to no format higher than octavo, the format in which both Blair and Buchan's bestsellers appeared. Blair's *Sermons* retailed for six shillings a volume. The first edition of Buchan's *Domestic Medicine*, a huge book, was sold by subscription for five shillings and retail for six shillings, though the price rose to seven shillings and sixpence when Strahan and his partners took it over in 1772. By contrast, the initial quarto editions of Robertson's major histories could cost up to one guinea (£1 1s. or twenty-one shillings) per volume in boards, and they were all two- or three-volume works. Of course, production costs were also higher for quartos, but so was the profit margin. Only one edition of a particular title, or at most two, would be published in quarto; after that the book, if successful, would drop down to a more affordable octavo size (in which it often already existed as an Irish reprint). Yet those initial quartos, if printed in large quantities, could more than cover all expenses (including the author's copy money), leaving subsequent octavo editions as pure profit-makers.

Thus, what was special about history from the booksellers' perspective was not that it was the most marketable of all literary genres, but that it was the most marketable of those genres that could be published initially in quarto format. Viewed from the perspective of authors and potential authors, this fact translated into the possibility of higher fees for the rights to publish their manuscripts, and created a strong financial incentive for men of letters to undertake the writing of history. Moreover, quarto publications entailed a certain level of status independent of income, so that some authors who did not make huge profits from their histories could still enjoy the fame and glory that came from being what William Robertson once called a "Quarto Author".[8] Successful histories could also lead to various kinds of preferments – including translations to more desirable and more lucrative parishes for clergymen, and appointments to ecclesiastical offices and academic chairs. These different forms of status and profit contributed to the process of making Scotland "the historical Nation" at this time.

It is not sufficient, therefore, to study Enlightenment historical writ-

ing as a genre only in the sense of content and style, as historians of ideas generally do. We must also take into account the essential elements of book history, such as the way that content and form, as well as format, profits, and status, affect the decisions reached by potential authors about whether to write books, and (if that question is answered affirmatively) the particular kinds of books to write, and the decisions of members of the book trade about whether to publish those books and, if so, how to do it. One issue relating to the latter point concerns the nature of publishing contracts. Hume and Robertson sold the publishing rights to their histories outright, in a manner that seems familiar to us today. But in the eighteenth century other publishing arrangements were possible that no longer exist in quite the same way, including publication by subscription and publication "for the author". Although it is certainly possible for individuals to publish their own work today, they cannot do so in association with the premier scholarly publisher of a given genre, as Strahan and Cadell – the primary publishers of Hume, Robertson, and in a few more years, Gibbon – unquestionably were in the field of historical composition. Yet that is exactly the way that Robert Henry's *History of Great Britain* came to be published.

In his "historical Age ... historical Nation" letter of 1770, Hume makes the following suggestion to Strahan, after expressing his wish that Strahan and Cadell should "usher" Henry's book into the world without, however, paying the author a great deal of money on account of the project's unmanageable size: "I shoud only think, that some Plan, which woud reserve to the Author the Chance of profiting by his good Success and yet not expose the Booksellers to too much hazard, might be the most suitable" (2:231). Strahan and Cadell followed Hume's advice. At some point in the latter part of 1770 or beginning of 1771, Henry offered them the rights to his work for an unknown amount of money. Believing that the amount requested by Henry was much too high, and that the work "cannot possibly be completed in any reasonable Time",[9] the publishers turned him down and made no counter-offer, but they agreed to print and market the book, with Henry apparently assuming most of the risk along with the opportunity to reap most of the profit. "Poor Dr. Henry, I believe, met with little or no Encouragement" from the booksellers, one well-connected Scot in London reported to a friend back home.[10]

Though disappointed, Henry agreed to these terms, and the first volume was printed by Strahan and published in April 1771 with this imprint: "London: printed for the author, and sold by T. Cadell". Since it

was a stately quarto of approximately 600 pages, with marginal heads and maps, the risk that Henry assumed was not inconsiderable. Strahan's ledgers reveal that one thousand copies of the first volume were printed at a cost of £84 18s., but that figure does not include the paper (a huge expense for a large quarto requiring seventy-six sheets) or other charges, such as advertising and warehousing, or the 1500 proposals or 250 "subscription papers" that Strahan also printed on the author's account.[11] Henry's total cost was probably on the order of £250 or £300, though his annual stipend as one of the ministers of Edinburgh was only £139. Moreover, this was but the first of many projected volumes, and as things turned out, it would be one of the shortest of them.

Henry faced other obstacles besides large expenses. Since he had to perform the duties of a clergyman, history remained for him a secondary vocation. His health was always poor, and in his last years writing was made difficult by a tremor in his hand. From the second volume in 1774 onward, he became the target of an abusive Scottish critic, Gilbert Stuart, whose attacks sometimes bordered on obsession, and included the suppression of a favourable review by David Hume.[12] Henry fretted about disappointing sales in England, believing that this circumstance "may be owing in part to the carelessness of Booksellers as it is not their property".[13] He asserted in Edinburgh newspaper advertisements that the second volume was being "sold by the Author, at his house in Potter-row street"[14] – an activity of questionable propriety for a clergyman of his stature. He announced a timetable in a preface to his second volume that would enable him to complete "the remainder of this history" in four more volumes, published "every other spring", covering the years from the Norman invasion of 1066 (when the second volume ended) to the union of English and Scottish crowns in 1603; the continuation of the story from 1603 to the present was now given secondary status, to be undertaken in an additional four volumes if possible. But in practice he could not implement this plan, in regard either to the production of the volumes, or to the time periods they covered, and he found himself apologizing to correspondents and readers for his slow pace. The third volume (covering the years 1066 to 1216) appeared in 1777, the fourth (1216 to 1399) in 1781, the fifth (1399 to 1485) in 1785. The sixth (1485 to 1547) still had not appeared at the time of Henry's death in 1790. Strahan and Cadell hired Malcolm Laing to edit and complete it posthumously, and added a revised version of a biographical sketch by Henry Moncreiff Wellwood that had already been published elsewhere.

In the notice "To the Public" at the beginning of his fifth volume of 1785, Henry blamed his tardiness partly on his clerical duties ("my various necessary engagements") and partly on "several interruptions from want of health". But the main source of delay was "the difficulty I found in discovering the truth, and forming the events of this period into a clear, consistent, and well-authenticated narration" (iv). As Hume, Strahan, and Henry himself had recognized from the outset, the undertaking was simply too vast. This point was immortalized in Boswell's *The Life of Samuel Johnson*, in an account of a dinner party held in London on 29 April 1778. When Johnson speaks of the promising plan of Henry's *History* and his hope that it does justice to "the history of manners, of common life", William Robertson uses Johnson's innocent remark as an opportunity for severely criticizing Henry on two counts. First, "Henry should have applied his attention to that [the history of manners] alone, which is enough for any man". Second, "Henry erred in not selling his first volume at a moderate price to the booksellers, that they might have pushed him on till he had got reputation". Robertson then cites his own experience as a model that Henry should have emulated: his booksellers profited to the tune of £6000 from his *History of Scotland*, and on that basis he was able to command a great deal of money for his next history, *Charles V*. "An authour should sell his first work for what the booksellers will give", Robertson continues, "till it shall appear whether he is an authour of merit, or, which is the same thing as to purchase-money, an authour who pleases the publick".[15] In his view, Henry had been wrong to violate this cardinal principle.

However accurate this speech may have been in regard to Robertson's own actions and motives (and it has been suggested elsewhere that it was not very accurate at all),[16] it is certainly unfair to Henry. Robertson's experience as a historian involved a series of discrete works, each of which could be negotiated on its own terms. Henry, however, was committed to a single project for his entire literary life. If he had accepted a modest sum for the first volume of his *History* on early Britain, he could not seriously have expected that volume, on its own, to sell at a level that would entitle him to receive a huge increase in copy money for the second and subsequent volumes.

In the end, Henry's decision to publish his book in the manner he did was probably not a bad one. For all its delays and other problems, the quarto edition of *History of Great Britain* evidently sold well enough, at the luxurious price of a guinea per volume in boards, to make its author a

handsome profit, even though it did not sell out completely.[17] When the third volume appeared in 1777, Henry was feeling confident enough to insert a long dedication to the King; when the fourth volume was published in 1781, it was adorned with a frontispiece portrait of the author in wig and clerical attire. In a letter of March 1786, Henry tells Cadell that he has been approached by two different booksellers (unfortunately not identified) seeking the rights to publish the existing five volumes in a more affordable octavo edition. He feels obligated to give Cadell, now paired with William Strahan's son Andrew, the right of first refusal, explaining that "I have an aversion to changing hands" and, beyond that, "I am anxious for the reputation of my work & think you could do it more justice & that it would be of more value to you than to the other". Wheeling and dealing, he lowers his offer to £1000 for the rights to the five volumes (from whatever higher amount it had originally been), payable over four years, with future volumes to be available at the same rate (i.e., £200 per volume). "I am not a man of business", the clergyman adds, "but this I know, that by the first octavo edition you are certain of a moderate profit, & by every subsequent edition (of which I hope there will be several) you know what will be your profits".[18] "Your terms are so high that believe me I do not expect to make any considerable profit", Cadell replies a few days later, but he decides to accept the offer anyway.[19] To this happy news, Henry responds: "I sincerely think you have made a good bargain, & I heartily wish it may turn out to be a better one than you expect, which I assure you is my opinion. But you must remember to pray powerfully for my life".[20]

Unfortunately for Strahan and Cadell, Henry died just four and a half years later, leaving his work unfinished. Nevertheless, his prediction about the sales potential of the octavo editions of his history proved to be closer to the truth than Cadell's lament about the improbability that the publishers would ever realize a profit. From the time that Strahan and Cadell published the second edition in ten octavo volumes in 1788 (augmented to twelve volumes in 1795, after the appearance of the posthumous sixth quarto volume in 1793), Henry's *History of Great Britain* remained a steady seller in the canon of British historical writing. The ledgers of Andrew Strahan record his participation in six octavo editions up to 1815, yielding a total income, in round numbers, of £2905, against expenses of £2035 (including £500 of copy money paid to the author) for Strahan's half-share.[21] Thus, over the long term, the £1000 that Strahan and Cadell had paid the author in 1786 turned out to be a profitable investment.

CONCLUSION

Different as they are, David Hume's *Essays and Treatises on Several Subjects* and Robert Henry's *History of Great Britain* reveal fundamental truths about the book in the Scottish Enlightenment. Perhaps the most important truth is that each book has its own peculiar way of coming into the world and inhabiting it. Originally published as a cheap duodecimo by Andrew Millar in London, in collaboration with Alexander Kincaid's firm in Edinburgh, *Essays and Treatises* constituted a means of imposing unity and coherence on Hume's previously published philosophical writings, as well as on his identity as an author. It subsequently developed into something else as well: a large, expensive quarto – first in one volume (with additions), then in two (with a portrait) – which enhanced Hume's authorial status. Henry's *History of Great Britain* followed a very different path. A large, expensive quarto from the start, it appeared slowly, one volume at a time, and the size of the project, coupled with Henry's high asking price, led to its being published by the author himself, even though it was printed and sold by the most eminent publishing syndicate of the day, Strahan and Cadell. Unusually, sixteen years after the appearance of the first quarto volume, the author was able to command a high price from that same publishing syndicate for the right to reprint the work in a more affordable octavo format.

Not only are the publication stories of Henry's *History of Great Britain* and Hume's *Essays and Treatises* radically different from each other; they are also completely different to the publication stories of every other Scottish Enlightenment book. Each is unique, and none can be made to fit a prefabricated mold. In that sense, we would do well to speak of "books" in the Scottish Enlightenment, rather than "the book". On the other hand, while acknowledging the unique nature of every work, we must also be aware of significant patterns in the production and distribution of Scottish Enlightenment books. The existence and collaboration of prominent Scottish bookselling and printing firms in London and Edinburgh, including above all the London firms founded by Andrew Millar and William Strahan, contributed substantially to the printing, publication, and selling of books like Hume's and Henry's. In some cases, the willingness of these publishers to pay generously for the opportunity to issue promising new titles may have stimulated Scottish men of letters to become authors in the first place, or to write books in one genre rather than another. All books, even those originally "printed for the author" like

Henry's *History of Great Britain*, were the products of specific arrangements between authors and members of the book trade, which affected how the books looked, how much they cost, how they were marketed, and how they were encountered by the reading public. The books of the Scottish Enlightenment, then, were fashioned by their authors and the book trade working in concert. Only by carefully studying them in their original forms, rather than merely as "texts" dressed in modern garb, can we begin to unlock their secrets and comprehend their nature.

NOTES

1 William B. Todd, "David Hume: A Preliminary Bibliography", in *Hume and the Enlightenment*, ed. William B. Todd (Edinburgh and Austin, 1974), 189-205, esp. 194-96.

2 David Hume, "My Own Life", in Ernest Campbell Mossner, *The Life of David Hume* (Oxford, 1954), 611-15. All quotations in this paragraph are taken from this source.

3 Hume to Strahan, [August 1770], *The Letters of David Hume*, ed. J.Y.T. Greig, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1932), 2:230.

4 Hume may have had in mind William Craig's *An Essay on the Life of Jesus Christ*, which the Foulis brothers had published in Glasgow in 1767, and reprinted in 1769.

5 Hume to Strahan, 21 January 1771, *Hume Letters*, 2:234. Henry expressed the same sentiment to Horace Walpole in the early 1780s, as noted in Mark Salber Phillips, *Society and Sentiment: Genres of Historical Writing in Britain, 1740-1820* (Princeton, N.J. 2000), 5n.

6 *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 31 May 1777, reproduced in Richard B. Sher, "Boswell on Robertson and the Moderates: New Evidence", *Age of Johnson* 11 (2000): 205-15.

7 Richard B. Sher, "William Buchan's *Domestic Medicine*: Laying Book History Open", in *The Human Face of the Book Trade: Print Culture and Its Creators*, ed. Peter Isaac and Barry McKay (Winchester and New Castle, 1999), 45-64.

8 Quoted in Jeffrey Smitten, "Robertson's Letters and the Life of Writing", in *William Robertson and the Expansion of Empire*, ed. Stewart J. Brown (Cambridge, 1997), 50.

9 Strahan to Hume, 1 March 1771, National Library of Scotland, MS 23,157, no. 62. To this passage Hume replied on 11 March: "I maintaind and still maintain that Henry's History has merit; tho' I own'd and still own, that the Length of the Undertaking is a great Objection to its Success; perhaps an insuperable one" (*Hume Letters*, 2:238).

10 John Douglas to Alexander Carlyle, Edinburgh University Library, Dc.4.41, no. 19 (courtesy of Warren McDougall).

11 British Library, Add. MS 48,801, fol. 59.

12 Ernest Campbell Mossner, "Hume as Literary Patron: A Suppressed Review of Robert Henry's *History of Great Britain*, 1773", *Modern Philology* 39 (1942): 361-82.

13 Henry to R. Harrison, 17 January 1783, privately owned.

14 *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 10 Jan 1774. The advertisement also announced that the book was sold in Edinburgh by John Balfour.

15 James Boswell, *The Life of Samuel Johnson*, ed. G. B. Hill, rev. L. F. Powell, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1934-40), 3:334.

16 Richard B. Sher, "*Charles V* and the Book Trade: An Episode in Enlightenment Print Culture", in Brown, *William Robertson*, 164-95.

17 The Strahan Papers reveal the existence of stock of the quarto edition as late as 1821. Moncreiff Wellwood's biographical sketch in the posthumous sixth volume of Henry's *History* reports that Henry said he earned a total of "about 3,300l". from this work (xv), which would mean that he earned about £2300 from the quarto edition, once allowances have been made for the £1000 he received for a second edition in octavo, as discussed below.

18 Henry to [Cadell], 22 March 1786, British Library, Add. MS 48901, fols. 27-28.

19 Cadell to Henry, 3 April 1786 (copy), ibid., fol. 28.

20 Henry to Cadell, 8 April 1786, ibid., fols. 29-30.

21 Strahan ledgers, British Library, Add. MS 48814A, fol. 13. Most of these editions of Henry's *History* were co-published by Andrew Strahan and Cadell & Davies, who in 1796 issued in quarto James Pettit Andrews's *History of Great Britain, from the Death of Henry VIII to the Accession of James VI ... Being a Continuation of Dr. Henry's History of Great Britain, and Written on the Same Plan*.

William Smellie and the Culture of the Edinburgh Book Trade, 1752-1795

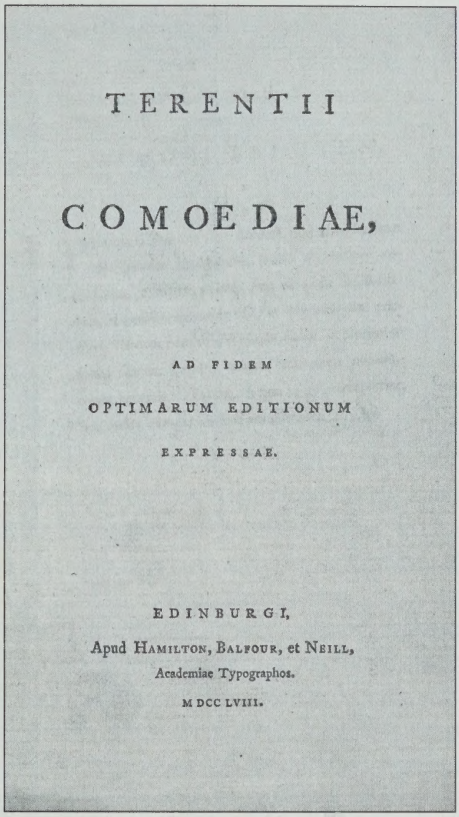
BY STEPHEN BROWN

During the second half of the eighteenth century, William Smellie was arguably Edinburgh's most gifted printer.[1] He began an apprenticeship with Hamilton, Balfour, and Neill in 1752 and was quickly made corrector to the Press, a remarkable promotion considering that Smellie was probably fifteen at the time. The firm had been established in 1750,[2] and Smellie's arrival two years later was a timely benefit to both the apprentice and the company: Smellie found himself employed by Edinburgh's most ambitious printing partnership, and the partners found in the boy a precocious talent, capable of composing and correcting texts with extraordinary speed and accuracy.[3] In 1757 Patrick Neill set Smellie the task of producing an edition of Terence. The result was the still much admired *Terentii Comœdiæ* (1758), which subsequently won an Edinburgh Society Silver Medal for its elegant achievement in roman printing [Case 5].[4] While he excelled in his apprenticeship, Smellie also pursued various courses of study in the arts and medicine at the University of Edinburgh. He had come to Hamilton, Balfour, and Neill from the town's distinguished High School, where he demonstrated a facility for classical languages, and Patrick Neill encouraged Smellie, as a part of his apprenticeship, to build upon that foundation. Neill officially released Smellie from his duties in the printing shop on a daily basis during the academic terms, no doubt recognizing the value of such an investment in the education of a talented corrector in a firm ambitious to become the University's appointed printer.[5] In his final three years with the company, Smellie had chief responsibility for producing medical theses, which required a high proficiency in Latin. By the 1770s, Smellie had acquired a reputation as his country's leading Latinist among the best booksellers, both in Edinburgh and London, which he sustained until his death in 1795.[6]

One suspects that Patrick Neill parted reluctantly with Smellie, who left his indentures six months early, midway through 1759, to become

William Smellie (1740-1795). Engraved by Freeman, after George Watson's painting. (From Robert Kerr, *Memoirs of the Life, Writings, & Correspondence of William Smellie.* Edinburgh, 1811.)

corrector to the press for Sands, Murray, and Cochrane, notable as the publishers of the *Scots Magazine*. Smellie was released from Hamilton, Balfour, and Neill during a period of squabbling and realignment among the partners, when John Reid joined the firm to help promote an innovative newspaper venture, the *Edinburgh Chronicle* (March 1759-March 1761), although he would have been in the printing house during the early and most controversial months of the *Chronicle*'s launch. Smellie may even have been involved with the advertisements and circulars for the newspaper early in 1759, which criticized contemporary Edinburgh journalism for pandering to "the Unthinking, the Idle, and the Frivolous".[7] Years later, in 1788, when Smellie was proposing a Whig newspaper for Edinburgh, coincidentally named the *Scottish Chronicle*,[8] he would challenge his competition in similar terms. As we shall see, Smellie's service with Hamilton, Balfour, and Neill not only taught him the printer's trade


TERENTII

COMOEDIAE,

AD FIDEM

OPTIMARUM EDITIONUM

EXPRESSAE.

EDINBURGI,

Apud HAMILTON, BALFOUR, et NEILL,

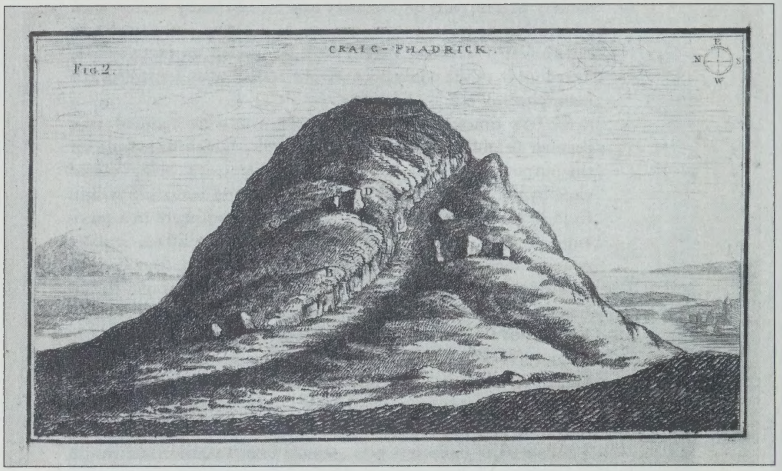
Academiae Typographos.

M DCC LVIII.

Title page to Terence's *Comedies*. Edinburgh, 1758. The text was set and proofread by Smellie.

but also awakened in him a fascination with critical journalism that stayed with him all his life. If Smellie's farewell to Patrick Neill foreshortened his involvement with the *Edinburgh Chronicle*, his new position in September 1759 with Sands, Murray, and Cochrane provided him with a different but similarly formative engagement with journalism. Smellie's contract with his new employers included an appointment as the editor of the *Scots Magazine*, an opportunity which determined Smellie's opinion about the responsibility of the public press in an emphatic and lasting way.[9]

Smellie's career provides an incisive commentary on the culture, politics, and business of the book in Edinburgh between 1755 and 1795. He was a printer without equal, but also a writer, editor, translator, and naturalist whose own contributions to the literature of the Enlightenment



From James Hutton's "Of Certain Natural Appearances of the Ground on the Hill of Arthur's Seat", *Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh, 1790) [Case 6].

were highly regarded by his contemporaries in Scotland, England, France, Germany, and America. During his working life, Smellie printed William Robertson, David Hume, Adam Smith, Lord Kames, Lord Hailes, Hugo Arnot, William Cullen, John Hope, James Hutton, Hugh Blair, Henry Mackenzie, and Robert Burns, to name only the most prominent authors. He was a member of the Philosophical Society, the Newtonian Club, the Royal Society of Edinburgh, and the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland and was a regular business associate of the dominant booksellers of his day, John Balfour, John Murray, Charles Elliot, William Creech, and Peter Hill. He counted among his close friends such disparate individuals as Gilbert Stuart, Joseph Black, Robert Burns, and James Burnet, Lord Monboddo. William Smellie is everywhere in the landscape of the Edinburgh Enlightenment. Once, the King's chemist, Dr. Amyot, observed to Smellie that when "I stand at what is called the Cross of Edinburgh, [I] can, in a few minutes, take fifty men of genius and learning by the hand";[10] we can be sure that every one of those fifty men knew William Smellie well, and held strong opinions about him as a businessman and a thinker. By examining the narrative of Smellie's life in the book world, we can see intimately what were the gains and the losses of publishing during the Edinburgh Enlightenment. Smellie moved on every level of the book trade, switching alliances and changing his politics often enough that his myriad activities can give us a whole picture of that

world. And, perhaps most importantly, because Smellie was as often on the losing as on the winning side of the affairs of the trade, we can see in his life and politics the destabilizing and the revolutionary influences that made Edinburgh a book capital with an international authority sufficient to generate *Blackwood's* and the *Edinburgh Review* within a few years of Smellie's death.[11]

As a bookman, Smellie was attracted to the intellectual innovations and controversies that enlivened contemporary Edinburgh. He was a remarkably involved university student, especially in view of the demands placed upon him by a full-time job in publishing and by his early marriage and large family. The studies Smellie began during his apprenticeship continued during his tenure with Sands, Murray, and Cochrane. By 1760 Smellie was very much taken up with the pursuit of medicine, having completed the arts curriculum, and developed a close relationship with Professor James Robertson, the Hebraist.[12] In his correspondence with the Reverend Samuel Charteris and Dr. William Buchan, both of whom he met as undergraduates at Edinburgh, Smellie seriously considers leaving the book trade to become a doctor.[13] Medical publishing fascinated him in particular, and Smellie's letters often describe recent books and announcements in the periodical press. In this he was responding to a dynamic that did much to advance the reputation of Scottish learning; however strong the output of works in philosophy, history, and the new social sciences from high flyers like Hume and Smith, it was medical writing, especially works dedicated to teaching medicine, which arguably had the greatest impact on the dissemination of Scottish thought.[14] Smellie's medical interest began with his work at Hamilton, Balfour, and Neill, where he corrected many of the medical theses published by the firm but it was his acquaintance with Dr. John Hope, Professor of Botany at Edinburgh, which turned Smellie's thoughts toward a career as a doctor.

Smellie met Hope in 1761, shortly after Hope became joint Professor of Botany and Materia Medica upon the death of Dr. Charles Alston.[15] Under Hope's direction, Smellie began to amass a collection of native Scottish plants, a project he continued for twenty years, eventually depositing two folio books of over four hundred dried specimens with the Society of Antiquaries in 1782. But the influence was mutual between these two men. Where Hope inspired Smellie to consider pursuing natural history if a medical practice was beyond his means, Smellie's involvement with publishing helped to encourage the self-deprecating Hope to begin to print his works. Hope gave Smellie funds in 1765 so that he could

William Smellie and Andrew Bell. (From John Kay, *A Series of Original Portraits and Caricature Etchings*. New ed. Edinburgh, 1877.)

leave the *Scots Magazine* and set up his own printing house, and Smellie subsequently published all of Hope's botanical and seed catalogues, sometimes in partnership with John Balfour, but occasionally alone. Smellie was also involved in Hope's edition of Dr. Charles Alston's *Lectures on the Materia Medica* in 1770, as printer and, perhaps in part, as editor [Case 6].[16]

While Smellie continued his medical studies - his interests running now to anatomy, as witnessed in letters to Samuel Charteris, where Smellie refers teasingly to "two carnivorous animals, commonly called Prof. Monro and son"[17] - the *Scots Magazine* began to reflect his editorship noticeably. Prior to 1760, medical references in the magazine were irregular, usually taking the form of remedies and receipts for cures. This

changes with Smellie, beginning in 1761, when he first seriously undertook studies in medicine at the University of Edinburgh.[18] The *Scots Magazine* shows a sudden increase in the number of medical books cited, reviewed or excerpted: eleven in August 1761 alone, for instance, followed in December by an essay on the proper nursing of children, and an extract about smallpox (pp. 651-52). Specialist medical materials now appear in abundance, starting the following month, January 1762, and medicine begins to be cited as a category in its own right in the table of contents on a regular basis as of April 1762. In all there are thirty-two articles on medical topics, every one an academically sound piece, with only the September issue lacking any entry on the subject.[19] By comparison, in 1759, before Smellie's editorship began, six extracts appeared over the course of the twelve issues, never more than one per issue, three taken from a single source (*Philosophical Transactions* of 1758), the others, all remedies. Similarly, in 1766, after Smellie had left the *Scots Magazine*, there are only seven entries on medicine, three from one source, and just one, on surgery, of any academic standing. While 1761-62 represents the apex, the number of articles throughout Smellie's tenure is consistently high, and their quality consistently ambitious.[20] The dramatic increase in medical entries is unmatched in other magazines of the time, and during the period of 1760-65, issues of the *Scots Magazine* often lead with medical stories. It is fair to assume that the editor's hand is evident here, where Smellie shows not only his own personal interests as a university student but also a canny instinct for where the book market would go in the decade to come.

The *Scots Magazine* provided Smellie with opportunities to develop other publishing and literary interests besides medical ones. As Smellie abandoned his ambition to become a doctor, he turned his scientific interests more toward natural history. He studied successively with University of Edinburgh professors Alston, Ramsay, and Hope, and developed an interest in instinct and the subconscious. This we know from his correspondence with Samuel Charteris, where Smellie discusses at great length his ideas about innate feelings and dreaming, speculating about the biological origin of emotions and the imagination. Smellie prepared a paper on dreams in 1764, and developed in 1760 a theory about the consciousness of the foetus, published posthumously in 1800, in which he speculated that "pain and pleasure, fear, hope, resentment, etc." if not innate must at least be something "children necessarily acquire in the womb from their own feelings, and the natural communication with the

feelings of the mother, added to reflection on these feelings ... [so] that the human species [may] enjoy the faculty of thinking and reflecting in the very dawnings of their existence".[21] Smellie's earliest speculations on the crucial questions of natural history tended toward the psychological and the philosophical. We see this reflected in the *Scots Magazine* in recurring excerpts on dreaming and related phenomena. Over a period of five years (1760-65), there are no fewer than thirty-four articles reflecting Smellie's growing fascination with the philosophy of natural history. Along with such speculative pieces are a number of very specialized essays on botany, in particular trees and shrubs, an interest of John Hope. Smellie prints at least four such excerpts in 1764, the year when he was working most closely with Hope on his collection of Scottish plants.

Elsewhere in the *Scots Magazine* for March and November 1760, we come across a letter from Stirling, and an essay reprinted from the *British Magazine*, whose ideas and language will form the basis of Smellie's first independent publication, *Of the Extent and Influence of Charity*, his essay printed for the Ancient Lodge of Mary's Chapel (1762).[22] And it was through the *Scots Magazine* that Smellie first made the acquaintance of Lord Kames, who would act as his patron for the first ten years of his career, and provide a bond of surety for Smellie's partnership with John Balfour. Smellie prepared a lengthy extract of Kames's *Elements of Criticism* for the *Scots Magazine* (January 1762: 21-26) and reprinted a critical review of Kames's book from the English press in March and October. When Kames brought out a revised second edition in 1763, Smellie himself wrote a brief review, printed in June, which defended Kames from renewed criticisms, by pointing out that the author "must have roused his utmost industry to clear this edition from all the defects of the former" (329). If there was any irony in Smellie's observation, it was lost on Kames, who was very vain about his literary productions, and could never accept this tradesman as an intellectual equal.[23]

At the *Scots Magazine*, Smellie developed what would become a life-long commitment to employing the press to disseminate learning, and thus to educate the common reader. Study was a privilege accorded Smellie by the kindness (and perhaps the self-interest) of Patrick Neill and Alexander Murray, who made access to education a condition of employment for their young printer. When Smellie left the *Scots Magazine*, he went on to become an academic printer once again with John Balfour, unofficially from 1766 and in full partnership after 1771, in which capacity he was responsible for printing all the legal and medical theses for

Edinburgh University. But Smellie saw the printer's role in giving the reader access to learning as challenging him with a much wider mandate. Publishing a student's thesis, a professor's lectures, or a philosopher's dismantling of historical orthodoxies was only one part, and the easiest at that. Such publications could also provide the content and the finances for another project: the spread of useful knowledge and controversial ideas through the journalistic media of the periodical press. Popularizing learning was one of the honourable goals of the Scottish Enlightenment, but Smellie would become increasingly caught up in its political more than its pedagogic aspects. After the *Scots Magazine*, he continued to be active in newspaper and magazine publishing, first in partnership with William and Robert Auld in printing the *Edinburgh Weekly Journal*,[24] and eventually in the groundbreaking *Edinburgh Magazine and Review*, which he conceived and produced jointly with Gilbert Stuart from 1773 through 1776. Still later, in his proposal for the *Scottish Chronicle* (1788) and in his editing of the *Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* (1792), Smellie's liberal notions about the press would become fully Whig.

The *Scots Magazine*, combined with an eclectic university course of study, had prepared William Smellie to play a crucial part in two other innovations in the dissemination of learning: the first edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (1767-71) and William Buchan's *Domestic Medicine* (1769) [Case 4]. It is unclear just when Andrew Bell and Colin MacFarquhar approached Smellie about joining them in the *Britannica* venture, but Bell was certainly familiar with Smellie's work on the *Scots Magazine*, having engraved the plates used during his editorship. As we have seen, Smellie had done a remarkable job of increasing the magazine's medical, scientific, and philosophical content, by drawing on his wide ranging studies at Edinburgh University. What was more, Smellie had a professional, and to this point in his career, exemplary understanding of what the book business entailed through his nearly fourteen years with two of Edinburgh's best firms, Hamilton, Balfour, and Neill (1752-59) and Sands, Murray, and Cochrane (1759-65). Furthermore, Smellie was now engaged in his own printing business with William and Robert Auld. He would have seemed the ideal candidate for an undertaking that required learning, business acumen, printing skill, and a quick hand with scissors and paste. And in 1766 Smellie had begun to print again for John Balfour, who was one of the principal booksellers associated with the *Encyclopædia*, and an admirer of Smellie from his apprenticeship days. But the *Britannica* proved too much for the partners; it would take

another attempt, and the involvement of the truly visionary bookseller Charles Elliot to the get the idea right.[25] None the less, the undertaking of this first edition is a measure of the potential of the Edinburgh book trade in the late 1760s, and its failure an indication of that trade's very real limitations at the time.

From the outset the first edition is surrounded with confusion. There appear to have been two conflicting proposals printed, uncertainty surrounding who among the partners were to take subscriptions, and a lack of agreement about the editorial principles behind the compilation. Bell and Macfarquhar appear to have had the French *Encyclopédie* in mind, while Smellie's model seemed to be less grand and more reflective of a magazine. Certainly Smellie had no very clear idea about adapting his interests to either the schedule or the philosophy of his employers, and the ensuing advertisements in the Edinburgh newspapers from mid-1767 through 1770 suggest a major misunderstanding between Smellie and the partners, which resulted in considerable public embarrassment for the project.

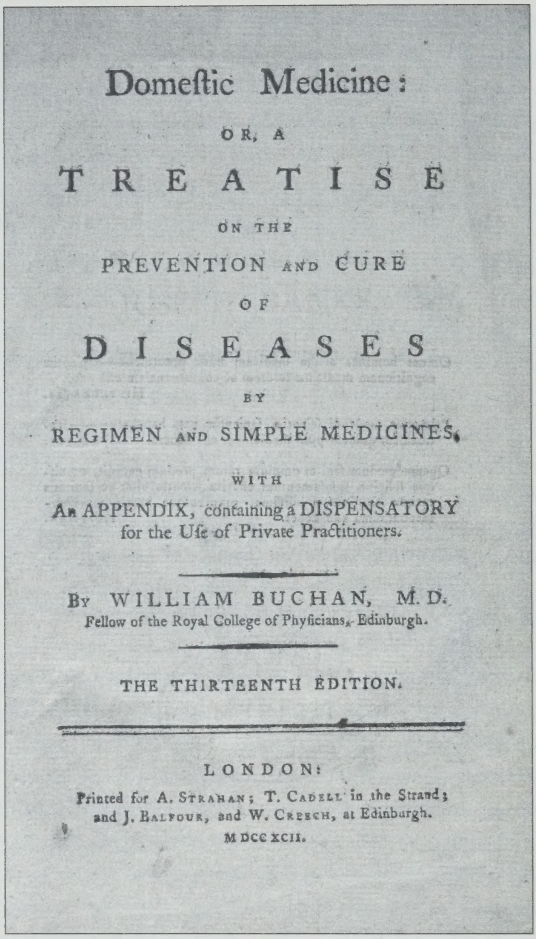
On Saturday 30 May 1767, the *Caledonian Mercury* announced that

> this day is published and given gratis (stitched in blue covers) at the shop of J. Balfour, and the other Booksellers, and of A. Bell Engraver in Parliament Close, Proposals for Printing by Subscription, a New and Complete Dictionary of Arts and Sciences. To be illustrated with above three hundred copper plates, exhibiting several thousand figures, accurately engraven. Proposals are likewise to be had at C. Macfarquhar's printing-house in Stair's Close, Lawnmarket, to which place letters and commissions from the country may be directed.

The same advertisement is reprinted for several months.[26] By February 1768 a new advertisement appears, a full column long, and containing the complete new proposal for the *Britannica*. This advertisement states that "this Work was formerly proposed to be printed in Octavo. But the Editors have found it necessary to alter the design, as the smallness of that size has been generally objected to". The announcement guarantees that "the first number will positively be published in November next, and the following ones weekly thereafter without interruption".[27] This new proposal appears for several months in the *Caledonian Mercury*, the *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, and the *Edinburgh Advertiser*. However, the advertised November issue date for the first part of the *Encyclopædia* comes and goes in silence, and then in the first week of December, announce-

ments appear declaring that "On Saturday December 10 will be published Number 1 (price 8d. the fine and 6d. the second fine) of *Encyclopædia Britannica*". Part two is issued two weeks later on December 24, 1768. Problems continue with further delays which pre-empt the promise of weekly installments until July 1769 when a long advertisement begins to appear in all the local newspapers and is repeated for two weeks. Addressed "To the Public", this announcement takes issue with the clarity of the earlier proposals and advertisements, taking something of an exasperated tone with "some people [who] did not fully comprehend the nature and design of the book". The author then alludes to complaints that he has received about the hard complexities and troubling originality of certain articles in the early numbers, and especially about the length of the entry on anatomy. The writer of the newspaper announcement remarks that "before any part of this undertaking was printed, some people imagined that it was not to be an original work but only a bookseller's jobb, a servile imitation of other dictionaries". He then goes on to criticize in quite an abrupt manner readers who are incapable of grasping the importance of those articles in which, like that on anatomy, "every part ... must be described, otherwise the system will be imperfect".

After this, advertisements for the *Britannica* appear only irregularly: there is not another one until 14 October 1769, in which the article on botany is emphasized, especially its critique of Linnæus' *Systema naturæ*, a particular interest of Smellie's. A pattern quickly emerges from even a cursory examination of these newspaper announcements about the publication of the early parts of the *Britannica*: the disagreement over the format (octavo or quarto); the delay in the issue of numbers (far greater space was assigned to the first letters of the alphabet than to the later ones); and the attempt to challenge the reader with Scottish learning. All these problems point to Smellie, to his interests in medicine and natural history, to his insistence on cheap magazine and review formats, and to his belief that the editor and writer might (or at least should) try to override the limited ambitions of the financial backers in the project. In style, content, and interests, each of the long newspaper announcements about the problems with the *Britannica* suggests Smellie as its author. He seems to have been determined to edit the encyclopedia on his own terms, making it in places a platform for his personal opinions and theories.[28] Smellie appears to have undertaken the editorship of the encyclopedia, intending to treat it as if it were an extension of the *Scots Magazine*, providing him with a similar opportunity to editorialize. He had moved a



Domeſtic Medicine:

OR, A

TREATISE

ON THE

PREVENTION AND CURE

OF

DISEASES

BY

REGIMEN AND SIMPLE MEDICINES,

WITH

AN APPENDIX, containing a DISPENSATORY for the Uſe of Private Practitioners.

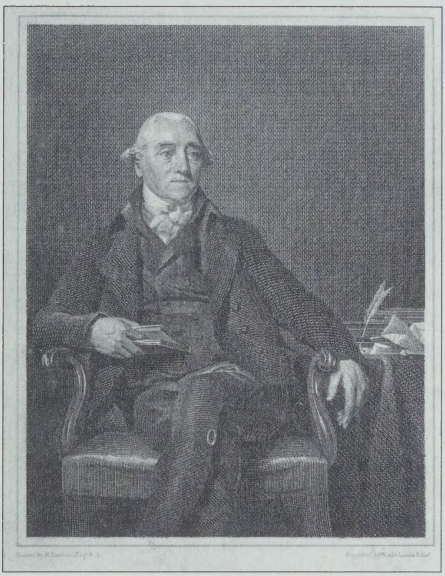
By WILLIAM BUCHAN, M.D.
Fellow of the Royal College of Phyſicians, Edinburgh.

THE THIRTEENTH EDITION.

LONDON:
Printed for A. STRAHAN; T. CADELL in the Strand; and J. BALFOUR, and W. CREECH, at Edinburgh.
M DCC XCII.

Title page to the thirteenth edition of William Buchan's *Domestic Medicine* (London, 1792).

long way from the traditional role of compiler during his term with the *Scots Magazine*, and he seems to have brought that liberty too aggressively to bear upon the *Britannica*. His gifts would find a more appropriate venue in a few years, but the experience of his employers, especially the partners Bell and Macfarquhar, could not have been positive; certainly they used a different editor for the second edition and, although Robert Kerr insists that Smellie declined to participate in another *Britannica* venture because of the decision to include biographies among the articles (a move he thought inappropriate), Kerr's argument is weak. After all,



William Creech (1745-1815). Engraved by W. & D. Lizars, from a painting by H. Raeburn. (From W. Creech, *Edinburgh Fugitive Pieces*. Edinburgh, 1815.)

Smellie himself wrote the life of Kames for the third edition of the *Britannica* [Case 6] and had been from the 1760s a strong supporter of biographical writing as a crucial genre for moral and historical instruction. It is more likely that the partners wished to avoid a repetition of the problems of the first edition by giving Smellie a pass.[29]

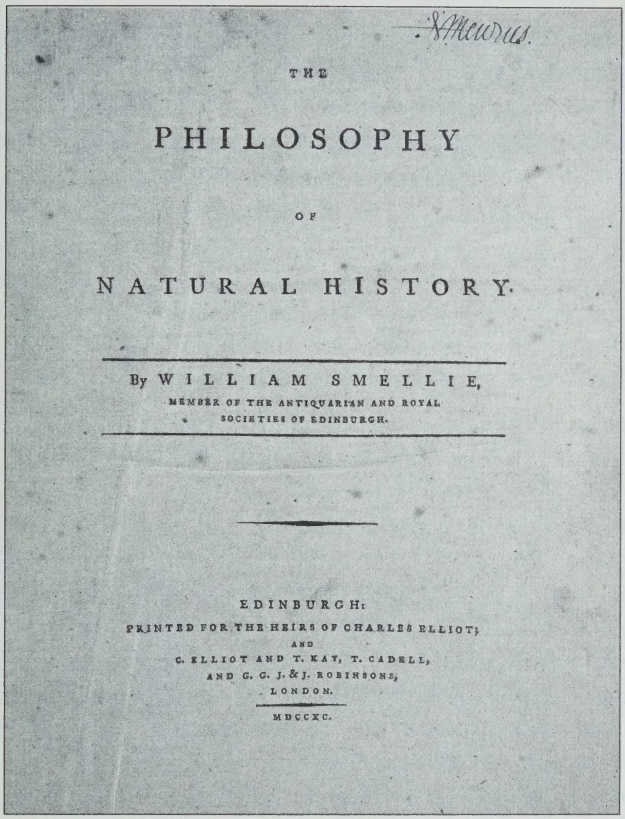
The disappointment with the *Britannica* would repeat itself in various ways with other editing and printing projects. Smellie continued in his commitment to popularizing learning, and found many allies to employ his skills as an editor, compiler, and printer. But more often than not, partners made money, and Smellie made poor choices. While Smellie was engaged in the public debate in the newspapers over the confusion surrounding the format and the early numbers of the *Britannica*, he was at the same time corresponding with William Buchan about the latter's plan for a guide to practical home medicine, which eventually became *Domestic Medicine* (1769). Smellie not only printed the first edition of Buchan's book - which would run to thirteen editions by 1792 and become the standard layman's guide to medicine into the next century - he also had a hand in arranging its content. But he was irresponsible in collecting his

share of the subscriptions, and once again found himself excluded from subsequent editions of what became a remarkable success.[30] Smellie went on to print for John Murray the important *Medical and Philosophical Commentaries* (1773-95), edited by Andrew Duncan, but as was the case with Buchan, when Smellie was juggling work on the *Domestic Medicine* with his commitment to the encyclopedia, Smellie's efforts in printing the *Commentaries* were often half-hearted because of his intense commitment to other projects, notably the *Edinburgh Magazine and Review* (1773-76). Still, the *Commentaries* were a true periodical publication, intended to facilitate access to developments in international medicine, and their publisher, John Murray, knew that only Smellie had the combined gift for science and Latin, together with the pure instinct for periodical dissemination, that were necessary to sustain the technical side of the project. Smellie had the skills and could appreciate Murray's intellectual objective. But Murray's correspondence with Smellie is rife with complaints about his friend's inability to grasp the business side of the undertaking. Typical is Murray's observation in a letter to Smellie about the *Commentaries* (29 May 1777):

> Your letters are for the most part short and unsatisfactory. Suppose your last had contained an account of what number of the *Commentaries* you had delivered to the booksellers of Edinburgh. Suppose also you had printed the booksellers as publishers of the *Commentaries* from the *cover*, and not have inserted Mr Ewing's name who has been dead twelve months and whose business is in 50 hands.[31]

On his own initiative, Smellie undertook the *Thesaurus Medicus*, a compendium of the medical theses at Edinburgh, arranged in four volumes (1778-85). But before he could complete the project, he was writing desperately to several colleagues, including John Murray, trying to sell his share in the copyright.[32]

Smellie was obviously a crucial player in the emerging knowledge-based economy of Enlightenment Edinburgh. His role in the *Britannica*, the *Domestic Medicine*, and the *Commentaries* testifies to this. But Smellie reaped little personal financial gain from the use of his intellectual gifts by others in the trade. Smellie's partnerships show his canny awareness of how the book business was evolving. As he moves from William Auld (1765), to John Balfour (1771), and to William Creech (1783), he anticipates in each case an innovation in the trade, just as his less formal agreements with Murray and Elliot confirmed his reputation for associat-


THE

PHILOSOPHY

OF

NATURAL HISTORY.

By WILLIAM SMELLIE,

MEMBER OF THE ANTIQUARIAN AND ROYAL SOCIETIES OF EDINBURGH.

EDINBURGH:

PRINTED FOR THE HEIRS OF CHARLES ELLIOT;

AND

C. ELLIOT AND T. KAY, T. CADELL,

AND G. G. J. & J. ROBINSONS,

LONDON.

MDCCXC.

Title page to William Smellie's *The Philosophy of Natural History*. Edinburgh, 1790.

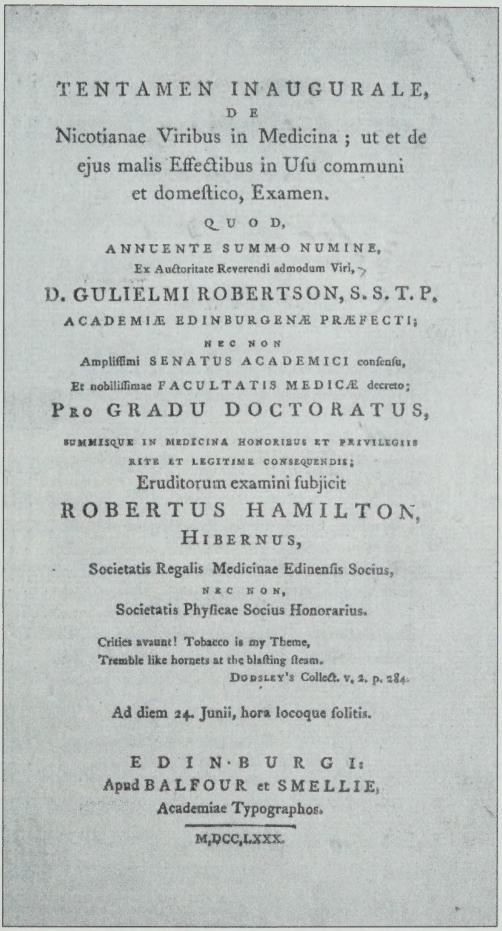
ing his printing house in the Anchor Close only with the best booksellers. Still, although Smellie's career is a road map of the high points of Edinburgh publishing, his own financial records and personal business habits reveal a man who was not good at claiming the rewards due to a great talent. Bell, Macfarquhar, and William Buchan grew rich from projects which they began with Smellie and from which Smellie saw little revenue - perhaps two hundred pounds for four years' labour on the *Britannica* and his printer's fee for the *Domestic Medicine*. And Smellie was no more effective in securing the economic potential of his own literary properties. His translation of Buffon, first brought out in 1780, had real promise in the market. But Smellie's correspondence with John Murray and Strahan and Cadell reveals a man incapable of negotiating his true worth.[33] In August 1780 Murray first alerts Smellie to the fact that the

Edinburgh publisher of his Buffon, William Creech, has not bothered to arrange for a bookseller in London. Despite reminders from Murray, and an offer to arrange for a London bookseller on Smellie's behalf, Smellie does nothing to pursue the matter for several months. In February 1781 Murray writes to Smellie in some exasperation:

> I also desired to have a copy of Buffon sent to me by coach. Of this desire though often repeated you take no notice ... Do you imagine that my bookseller will treat for your book without *seeing* it? Or do you apprehend what is practised in Scotland that the work will be pirated here and detain the copy I wrote for on that account. How immensely contemptible is such conduct.

Despite being well reviewed and despite a market that demanded subsequent editions, Smellie did not get value for his Buffon, and he failed to follow through on a contract to translate Buffon's *Histoire naturelle des oiseaux*, despite John Murray's guarantee that the project would involve yet another "edition of what Smellie has already translated".[34] He appeared to do better with his *The Philosophy of Natural History* [Case 6], in large part because Charles Elliot played fairly with him and offered a thousand pounds for the work, never expecting Smellie to negotiate his own price.[35] But even in this instance, Smellie was disappointed, since Elliot died suddenly before the book came out in 1790, and Smellie's money was tied up with the settling of the estate. After Elliot's death, we find Smellie desperately writing to several publishers trying to negotiate a similar deal for the second volume of the *Philosophy*, but his pitch is awkward and even pathetic, and he is brushed off by Robert Faulder, among others, before Bell and Bradfute show some interest.[36]

Yet there was no reason for Smellie's works to fail to reward him well financially, since his literary properties were highly regarded in the trade. Charles Elliot considered Smellie a valuable investment and potential bestseller in natural science, and uses Smellie's name prominently in his negotiations with French and American booksellers, ranking Smellie's *The Philosophy of Natural History* alongside William Cullen's titles as "works [that] will have a great Demand in France".[37] Even the *Edinburgh Magazine and Review* can trace its demise as much to Smellie's lack of persistence as a businessman, as to its scandalous reputation. Smellie regularly failed to get copies to the London booksellers, to the point that John Murray declared that market lost, despairing at the thought of further shipments: "The mag for last month did not arrive at London till the 8th of this ... This is too late ... your Mag has lost all credit here".[38] All



TENTAMEN INAUGURALE,
DE
Nicotianae Viribus in Medicina ; ut et de
ejus malis Effectibus in Usu communi
et domestico, Examen.
QUOD,
ANNUENTE SUMMO NUMINE,
Ex Auctoritate Reverendi admodum Viri,
D. GULIELMI ROBERTSON, S. S. T. P.
ACADEMIÆ EDINBURGENÆ PRÆFECTI;
NEC NON
Amplissimi SENATUS ACADEMICI consensu,
Et nobilissimae FACULTATIS MEDICÆ decreto;
PRO GRADU DOCTORATUS,
SUMMISQUE IN MEDICINA HONORIBUS ET PRIVILEGIIS
RITE ET LEGITIME CONSEQUENDIS;
Eruditorum examini subjicit
ROBERTUS HAMILTON,
HIBERNUS,
Societatis Regalis Medicinae Edinensis Socius,
NEC NON,
Societatis Physicae Socius Honorarius.

Critics avaunt! Tobacco is my Theme,
Tremble like hornets at the blasting steam.
DODSLEY'S Collect. v. 2. p. 284.

Ad diem 24. Junii, hora locoque solitis.

EDINBURGI:
Apud BALFOUR et SMELLIE,
Academiae Typographos.
M,DCC,LXXX.

Title page to Robert Hamilton's medical thesis, *De nicotianæ viribus in medicina*. Edinburgi, 1780.

this points to a tragic paradox in Smellie's character. As a writer, he knew what works a publisher would print; he was in step with all the trend setters intellectually and instinctively grasped the potential of the "new journalism" that would become *Blackwood's* and the *Edinburgh Review*. But as a printer, he lacked the business instincts for a modern, knowledge-based economy. Smellie was in the vanguard as an intellectual, but dreadfully old fashioned as a businessman; he lived for controversy in his writing, but lacked the "killer instinct" required to succeed in the new ethos of the emerging Edinburgh book trade.[39] So it should not be surprising that

Smellie clung all his professional life to the job of printing the medical theses for Edinburgh University. This modest and traditional income, which involved no risk to the printer, was something Smellie rigorously defended for almost thirty years (1766-95), regularly urging his partner in the venture, John Balfour, to help him safeguard their investment.[40] Ironically Smellie often found his own work, the translation of Buffon and *The Philosophy of Natural History*, cited in the notes to these theses, little reminders that the man who could be an academic authority, was also a menial servant to the academy.[41]

In this odd combination of the modern and the classical, of the free-thinking sceptic and the Latinist, Smellie's career may begin to look - in Duncan Forbes' language - like an expression of "scientific Whiggism".[42] But the evidence indicates otherwise. Smellie may have begun his career ambitious to join the ranks of the moderate literati,[43] but as he matured, his politics became more romantic: he started writing and printing with Lord Kames as a patron, and finished under the protection of Lord Buchan. Smellie fully emerged as a writer and revealed his political nature with his work on the *Edinburgh Magazine and Review*. This was an innovative publication whose bent for controversial opinions and political instigation anticipated the distinctive mingling of politics and literature evident later in *Blackwood's* and the *Edinburgh Review*. Smellie and Stuart also reached back to the original *Edinburgh Review* (1755-56) [Case 5], a work printed by Hamilton, Balfour, and Neill while Smellie was corrector to their press. In his manuscript notes for the *Edinburgh Magazine and Review*, Smellie's emphasis on Scottish issues in an international context, combined with a conscious strategy of taking critical positions on public affairs and striving for originality,[44] is reminiscent of Adam Smith's vision of a new Scots journalism, set out in his anonymous letter to the authors of the *Edinburgh Review* in 1756. There, Smith argues for "a compleat, reasoned and even critical examination of each subject", endeavouring "at least to be, in some measure, original", and offering "criticism upon the defects and perfections of what so well deserves to be criticized in general".[45] That commitment to a complete critical posture was before its time in Scotland in 1755-56, and Smellie had witnessed a similar attempt to create a critical national journalism in the *Edinburgh Chronicle* (1759-60) prove premature in its assumption that Scots were ready for such self-examination. The *Magazine and Review* outlasted its ideological predecessors (1773-76) but succumbed to the same conformist political forces.[46] It awakened Smellie's interest in history, and we find

Henry Home Lord Kames, Hugh Arnot, and James Burnett, Lord Monboddo. (From John Kay, *A Series of Original Portraits and Caricature Etchings*. New ed. Edinburgh, 1877.)

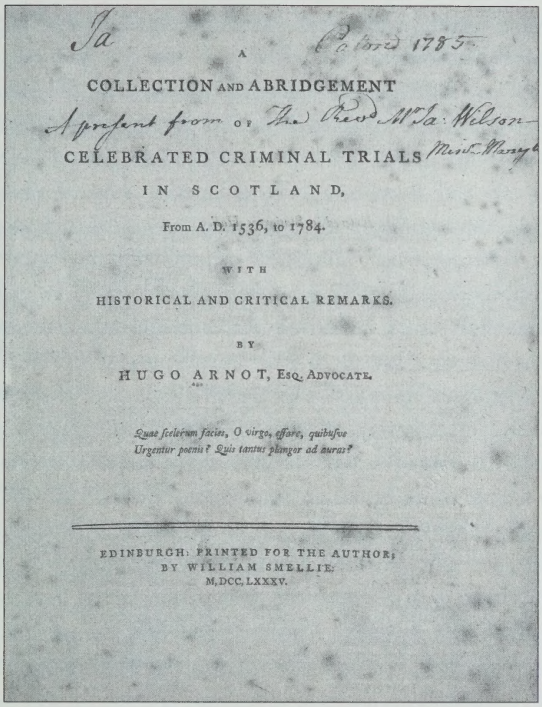
him soliciting contributions on the Marion debate, specifically designed to inflame the public.[47] The publication is aggressive in its nationalism, disdaining the polite civility that would characterize Henry Mackenzie's *The Mirror* (1779-80) and *The Lounger* (1785-87) [Case 5]. There is nothing of *The Spectator*'s Anglican imperialism; rather, Smellie and Stuart invoke their status as dissenting northerners. This tendency toward radicalism was always part of Smellie's character. His grandfather William had been a disruptive force as a Masonic leader,[48] and the family were still remembered in Smellie's lifetime for their unswerving commitment as Covenantors.[49] In his earliest surviving correspondence with William Tod, who had been a fellow apprentice, Smellie thinks out loud about becoming a speculative journalist.[50] Smellie's originality as a natural historian is not without its political elements too, emphasizing as it does the innate principles of sympathy, benevolence, and a love of liberty.[51] These are inarguably romantic leanings.

Smellie's friendship with Gilbert Stuart may have made him bolder and embroiled him in political battles, but Smellie had been born for controversy anyway. Stuart is blamed for bringing down the *Magazine and Review* with his sustained assault on Lord Monboddo's *Of the Origin and Progress of Language* [Case 6], but Smellie was equally hard on Monboddo's mentor, James Harris, in his review of the *Philosophical Arrangements* (1775). As the editor of *Magazine and Review*, Smellie hunted down controversy, and confesses to Monboddo his ultimate

The Ceremony of Laying the Foundation Stone of the New College of Edinburgh, November 16, 1789. (From Sir Alexander Grant's *The Story of the University of Edinburgh During its First Three Hundred Years*, vol. 2 (London, 1884).

responsibility for Stuart's attacks. In a letter to George Paton (9 August 1774), Smellie states quite openly that it was his editorial policy to point out "in the strongest manner any act of mismanagement, littleness, dishonesty, or oppression ... a hint [being] sufficient".[52] This policy led Smellie to take on the town councils, and through them, Sir Laurence Dundas, first in the *Magazine and Review* in consort with Stuart, and subsequently in his own pamphlet, *To the Citizens of Edinburgh: 'Behold Yon Pair'*, a Scriblerian masterpiece which parodies Pope's *Dunciad Variorium*.[53] This act would come back to haunt Smellie in two years' time, when he found himself petitioning Sir Laurence through his son Thomas Dundas, for support in a bid for the Professorship in Natural History at Edinburgh University.[54]

Whether Smellie ever stood a chance of securing the professorship in 1776 is open to debate.[55] What is certain is the effect of the incident in Smellie's politics. Betrayed, as he saw it, by Lord Kames, who supported the successful Moderate Party candidate, the Reverend Dr. John Walker, Smellie turned in his associations to John and David Dalrymple,[56] whose acquaintance he had made through John Murray, and from them, ultimately, to Lord Buchan. David Dalrymple, Lord Hailes, developed an


Ja Rec'd 1785
A
COLLECTION AND ABRIDGEMENT
A present from of The Revd Mr Ja: Wilson
CELEBRATED CRIMINAL TRIALS Mint Mary's
IN SCOTLAND,
From A. D. 1536, to 1784.
WITH
HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL REMARKS.
BY
HUGO ARNOT, Esq. Advocate.
Quae scelerum facies, O virgo, effare, quibusve
Urgentur poenis? Quis tantus plangor ad auras?
EDINBURGH: PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR;
BY WILLIAM SMELLIE.
M,DCC,LXXXV.

Title page to Hugo Arnot's *A Collection and Abridgement of Celebrated Criminal Trials in Scotland, from A.D. 1536, to 1784.* Edinburgh, 1785.

affection for Smellie not unlike that of Kames. Hailes's *Remarks on the History of Scotland* appeared in 1773 with Smellie's imprint [Case 5]. Smellie later printed his *Annals of Scotland* (1776-79) for John Murray. From the Dalrymples and Hugo Arnot whom he met through Gilbert Stuart, Smellie developed an interest in the law, which gave him a new venue for his growing attachment to the concept of liberty. Again under his own imprint he brought out Arnot's *A Collection and Abridgement of Celebrated Criminal Trials in Scotland* (1785) [Case 5], a work which concludes that "much more shocking" than "the outrageous crimes of the prisoners" is "the legal murders of the Court. - Let us inquire whence proceeded a system of penal law, so repugnant to justice, humanity, and policy" (371). While working with Arnot on this book, Smellie published his own polemic on the law, *An Address to the People of Scotland, on the Nature, Powers, and Priviliges of Juries* (1784), which asserted the moral authority of the private citizen against that of the state's representative, the

magistrates and judges, whom he accuses of "violence and partiality" in their relation to the crown.

By the 1780s Smellie was a confirmed ally of Lord Buchan, working hard to establish and maintain Buchan's brainchild, the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. Smellie was one of the founders of the Society, its first Keeper, second Secretary, official printer, one of its censors, a member of its executive board, the author of its history (1782-84), and the editor of its *Transactions*.[57] When the Society faltered after Buchan's departure, Smellie sustained it almost single-handedly,[58] the effort undermining his health in 1795. In the Society and through Buchan, Smellie came to recognize the rigidity of Edinburgh's social structures, and he found here a sympathetic ear for his increasing sense of exclusion by a conservative system that did not reward merit alone. Here, too, Smellie re-established his contacts with Freemasonry, something he retreated from in the 1760s, when he began his association with Kames.[59] By the 1780s most of Smellie's associates were active Masons - Buchan and Hailes both becoming Grand Masters. Alexander Fergusson, who alone with Smellie persevered in supporting the Antiquaries in the lean years of the 1790s, was Master of Smellie's Lodge.[60] Notably, the financial backers proposed for Smellie's *Scottish Chronicle* in 1788 were all prominent Masons.[61]

Of course, the best known of Smellie's Masonic brethren was Robert Burns. The two became fast friends, Burns replacing Stuart as Smellie's political confidant. Smellie wrote asking Burns to contribute a prefatory letter to the second volume of *The Philosophy of Natural History*, but both men died before the book was finished. Burns clearly kept Smellie going at a time in the 1790s, when the printer was struggling, excluded politically, and supplementing his income through hackwork that included editing John Rotheram's "Preface" to Cullen's *First Lines* [Case 6], despite the mutual animosity that dated from Rotheram's attack on Smellie's *The Philosophy of Natural History*. Smellie finished his career printing for Peter Hill, and battling William Creech over their 1780s partnership, which John Murray had predicted would end badly.[62] Buchan remained loyal, promoting Smellie through references to his work in *The Bee* [Case 5],but this gesture was too modest to bring Smellie back into the literary fold. Smellie's battles with first Laurence, and then Henry Dundas, his confrontation with the University, and his very public opposition to the current government (he had refused when asked to write a reply to Thomas Paine) left him with only his drinking club, the Crochallan Fencibles to sustain him. Still, Smellie had done much in bringing

Edinburgh book culture to international recognition, and all without venturing beyond the town's suburbs. He established the standard for modern literary journalism but learned the hard way that, however enlightened Edinburgh might be, it was no meritocracy.

NOTES

1 The only full-length biography of Smellie is Robert Kerr's *Memoirs of the Life, Writings & Correspondence of William Smellie*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1811). Kerr alters and suppresses much in Smellie's manuscripts and correspondence, and is thus often unreliable. All references here to letters and manuscripts are to the originals, deposited in the National Museums of Scotland Library, edited with index by Stephen W. Brown, 1996 (revised 1999).

2 For a history of the firm and a bibliography of its imprints, see Warren McDougall, "Gavin Hamilton, John Balfour, and Patrick Neill", unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Edinburgh, 1974. The bibliography is also available in *Spreading the Word: the Distribution Networks of Print, 1550-1850*, eds. Robin Myers and Michael Harris (Winchester, 1990), 185-232.

3 Warren McDougall, "Hamilton, Balfour, and Neill's *Edinburgh Chronicle*", *Scottish Book Collector* 2 (1991): 26. Moray McLaren, *The House of Neill, 1749-1949* (Edinburgh, 1949), 4.

4 For the historical contexts see Brian Hillyard, "The Edinburgh Society's Silver Medals for Printing", *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 78 (1984): 296, 310-11. Also, McDougall's dissertation, 380.

5 Hamilton, Balfour, and Neill were appointed printers to Edinburgh University in 1754. After the dissolution of this partnership, Balfour joined Smellie (1771), and they continued as university printers until Smellie's death (1795).

6 William Strahan, Charles Elliot, and John Murray acknowledged Smellie's genius for academic, medical, and scientific printing. See the Murray Archives, John Murray's Copybooks, and William Smellie MSS, National Museums of Scotland.

7 McDougall, "Hamilton, Balfour, and Neill's *Edinburgh Chronicle*", 24.

8 *Scottish Chronicle*, 1788. Smellie MSS, Other Writing, items 8 and 9.

9 Smellie is one of only two identified editors of the *Scots Magazine* during the eighteenth century, the other being Hector Macneill (1788-95). Smellie's contract ran through 1765, and employed him in "collecting articles", "making abstracts, extracts, or transcripts", "writing accounts" and "in cases of hurry of printing, in composing, or case-work". His salary was sixteen shillings a week, six shillings more than his weekly income as a corrector with Hamilton, Balfour, and Neill. See the original contract in the Smellie MSS, Booktrade Documents, item one. Also, D.S.M. Imrie, *The Story of the "Scots Magazine"* (Edinburgh, 1939), 219-20.

10 William Smellie, "The Life of David Hume", *Literary and Characteristical Lives ... A Dissertation on Public Spirit and Three Essays* (Edinburgh, 1800), 161.

11 On the establishment of the *Edinburgh Review* from the perspective of a contemporary, see Thomas Constable, *Archibald Constable and his Literary Correspondents*, 3 vols. (Edinburgh, 1873) 1:38-56.

12 Kerr, *Memoirs*, 1:299-301.

13 Smellie MSS, Familiar Correspondence, William Buchan 1760-62; Samuel Charteris 1760-65.

14 Medical titles were of particular importance to the two Scottish publishers who had the most influence in London, John Murray and Charles Elliot. See, William Zachs, *The First John Murray and the Late Eighteenth-Century London Book Trade* (Oxford, 1998), especially the annotated catalogue of Murray's publications. I am indebted to conversations with Warren McDougall and access to his research on Charles Elliot for information about Elliot in London. Also, see Benjamin Rush's collection of Edinburgh medical theses and related materials in the Library Company of Philadephia.

15 A.G. Morton, *John Hope, 1725-1786: Scottish Botanist* (Edinburgh, 1986), 8-21.

16 See John Hope MSS in the library of the Edinburgh Botanical Gardens, together with the collection of Latin seed and tree catalogues. Here again, Smellie's reputation as a Latinist served him well.

17 Smellie MSS, Familiar Correspondence, Samuel Charteris 1763-65.

18 Smellie's name does not appear on class lists at the University, and he never took a degree because he was unable to pay lecture fees. He was admitted to courses through free tickets issued by the professors or, as was the case with John Hope, in exchange for assisting the instructor in various academic capacities.

19 Number of medical articles and extracts printed in the *Scots Magazine* for 1762, by month: January (2), February (1), March (1), April (4), May (8), June (4), July (2), August (2), September (0), October (1), November (5), December (2).

20 Medical articles and extracts during Smellie's editorship by year: 1760 (16); 1761 (21); 1762 (32); 1763 (20); 1764 (17); 1765 (14).

21 Smellie, *Literary and Characteristical Lives*, 320-21.

22 *Scots Magazine* 22 (1760): 135-37; 575-77. The essay was reprinted in 1931: William Smellie, *An Oration on the Extent and Influence of Charity* (Edinburgh, 1931).

23 Kerr claimed that Smellie first wrote to Kames after correcting the *Elements* for the press, but this overlooks the fact that Smellie was then employed to edit the *Scots Magazine*. The correspondence between Smellie and Kames is more consistent with the role of an editor than a corrector.

24 Smellie joined William Auld and his brother Robert as proprietors in 1765. By 1768, however, Smellie was dissatisfied with the paper's blandness and attempted to politicize its content. After a caustic exchange of letters among the partners, Smellie left the paper. See Stephen W. Brown, "William Smellie and the Printer's Role in the Eighteenth-Century Booktrade", in *The Human Face of the Booktrade: Print Culture and its Creators*, ed. Peter Isaac and Barry Mackay (Winchester and New Castle, 1999), 1-15. Also, Smellie MSS, Booktrade Correspondence, William and Robert Auld, 1769-70.

25 I am indebted to Warren McDougall for the argument that Elliot made the *Britannica* into an international success.

26 *Caledonian Mercury*, 29 July 1767; *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 31 August 1767. There is no known surviving copy of this first proposal.

27 See the four-page second Proposal with Subscribers Sheet for Fine and Second Paper copies. National Library of Scotland. Publication at Edinburgh, 8 June 1768.

28 While most of the article on botany was cribbed from the manuscript lectures of Dr. Charles Alston, Smellie went out of his way to emphasize the controversy over the sexual

system for plants. In an article on "Abridgement", Smellie cleverly recycled the extracts he had done for the *Scots Magazine*, taken from Dr. George Campbell's *Dissertation on Miracles* [Case 6] in reply to David Hume. Smellie does this in such a way that what should be a harmless definition of "abridgement" becomes a manifesto on the necessarily controversial nature of modern philosophy. See the article on the *Britannica*, including Smellie's entry on "Abridgment", in the *Scots Magazine* 30 (1768): 650-51.

29 John Murray advised Smellie against taking up the second edition of the *Britannica* in a letter dated 17 June 1777 (Murray Archives).

30 Kerr credits Smellie with doing a complete rewrite of the *Domestic Medicine*, a claim supported by Gilbert Stuart; Kerr, *Memoirs*, 1:222-23.

31 Murray's letters to Smellie between 1773 and 1778 are replete with complaints about the latter's lack of business sense. See especially: Murray Archives, 3 January 1778 and a letter to John Balfour about Smellie, 18 November 1782.

32 Murray Archives, 1 December 1778.

33 Smellie MSS, Booktrade, Strahan and Cadell, four letters 1785-87; Murray Archives, 10 August 1780 and 10 February 1781.

34 Murray Archives, 4 October 1790.

35 At the time Charles Elliot was making an effort to outbid his London and Edinburgh competitors for the best literary properties. In this context, his offer is a genuine indication of the high regard in which Smellie's work was held. Murray Archives, Elliot MSS, 1787-88.

36 Smellie MSS, Familiar Correspondence, Robert Faulder, 4 July 1793; National Library of Scotland, Watson MSS 583, #857. To John Bell, 22 December 1794.

37 Murray Archives, Elliot MSS, 5 May 1788.

38 Murray Archives, 15 November 1773; 28 April 1774; 31 August 1774; 10 March 1775; 18 March 1775; 25 September 1775; 11 December 1775; 24 February 1776; 25 June 1776; 15 July 1776; 24 February 1777.

39 Two of Smellie's apprentices, James Kinnear and James Pillans, went on to establish financially stable firms, which lasted into the twentieth century, while Smellie's printing house steadily declined under the management of his son Alexander. Although Smellie generally employed the fewest number of apprentices among Edinburgh printing firms (usually three between 1770 and 1795), their salaries were among the highest in the town's trade (1773: 38 pounds; 1791: 58 pounds, annually).

40 Smellie MSS, Booktrade, John Balfour, 4 September 1787.

41 See, for example, Robert Hamilton, *Tentamen inaugurale De nicotianæ viribus in medicina* (Edinburgh, 1780) [Case 6]. Smellie is cited in the notes on page 67 from his Buffon translation.

42 Duncan Forbes, "'Scientific Whiggism': Adam Smith and John Millar", *Cambridge Journal* 7 (1954): 643-70. Also, R.L. Emerson, "The Scottish Enlightenment and the End of the Philosophical Society of Edinburgh", *British Journal for the History of Science* 21 (1988): 33-66.

43 Richard Sher, *Church and University in the Scottish Enlightenment: the Moderate Literati of Edinburgh* (Princeton, N.J., 1985), 187-212.

44 See "Hints" and "Scotch reviewers" in Smellie MSS, Other Writing, item 6.

45 *Edinburgh Review* 2 (1756): 68, 72.

46 William Zachs, *Without Regard to Good Manners: a Biography of Gilbert Stuart, 1743-1786* (Edinburgh, 1992), 63-95.

47 "Hints", Smellie MSS.

48 David Stevenson, *The First Freemasons: Scotland's Early Lodges and their Members* (Aberdeen, 1988), 47-49.

49 The Martyrs Monument in Greyfriars Churchyard was built by Smellie's father, Alexander; Kerr, *Memories* 1:16-17.

50 Smellie MSS, William Tod Correspondence, 1759-61. Also, Samuel Charteris, 1761-62.

51 See Smellie's notes at the foot of a letter from Lord Buchan about John Walker. Smellie MSS, Familiar Correspondence, 20 September 1781.

52 NLS, Advocates MSS, 29.5.8 (IV) f 34.

53 Smellie MSS, Other Writing, item 1.

54 Smellie MSS, General Correspondence, Thomas Dundas.

55 Emerson, "The Scottish Enlightenment and the End of the Philosophical Society of Edinburgh", 47-63. Also, Charles D. Waterston, *Collections in Context: The Museum of the Royal Society of Edinburgh and the Inception of a National Museum for Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1997), 9-18.

56 John Dalrymple had revealed to Smellie Kames's support of John Walker for the Professorship. Smellie MSS, General Correspondence, 22 February 1776.

57 A letter to James Cummyng (10 February 1783) suggests that the idea for the *Transactions* was conceived by Smellie; NLS, Watson MSS, 584, #918.

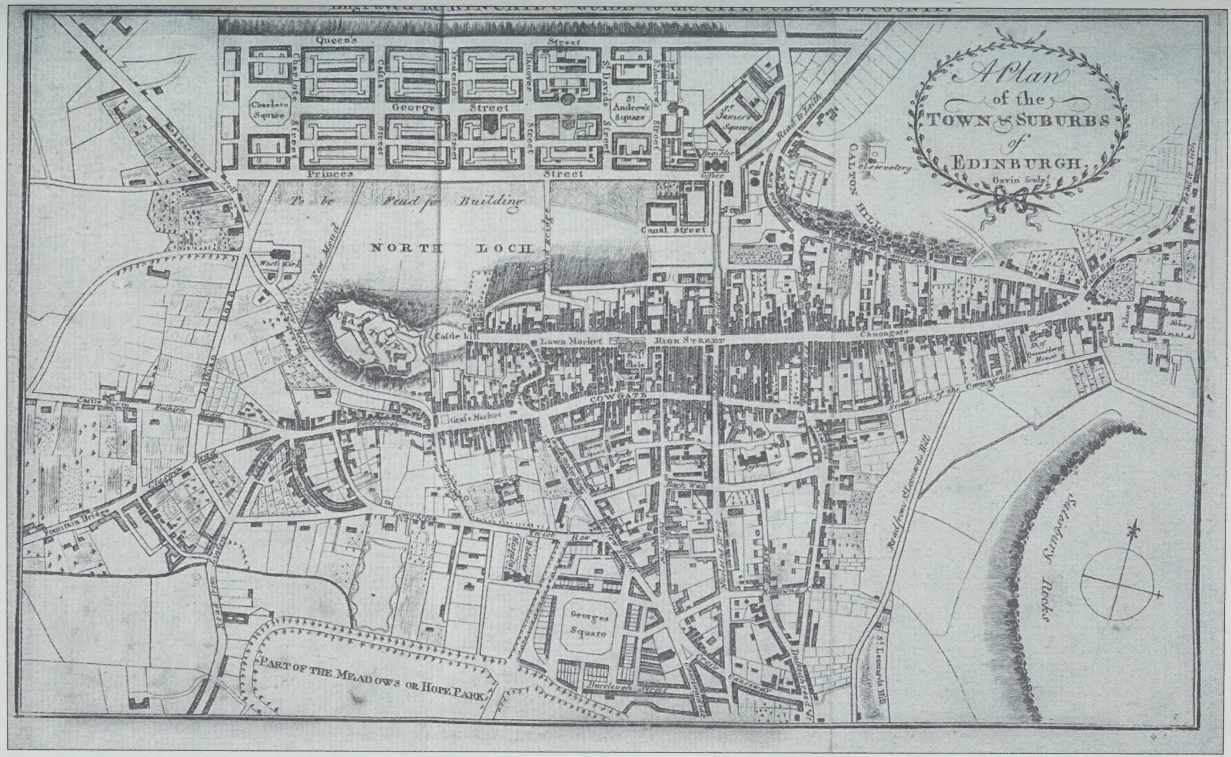
58 Minute Books 1788-95 (S.A.S.), National Museums of Scotland Library.

59 Smellie's first partner, William Auld, was an official printer for the Freemasons.

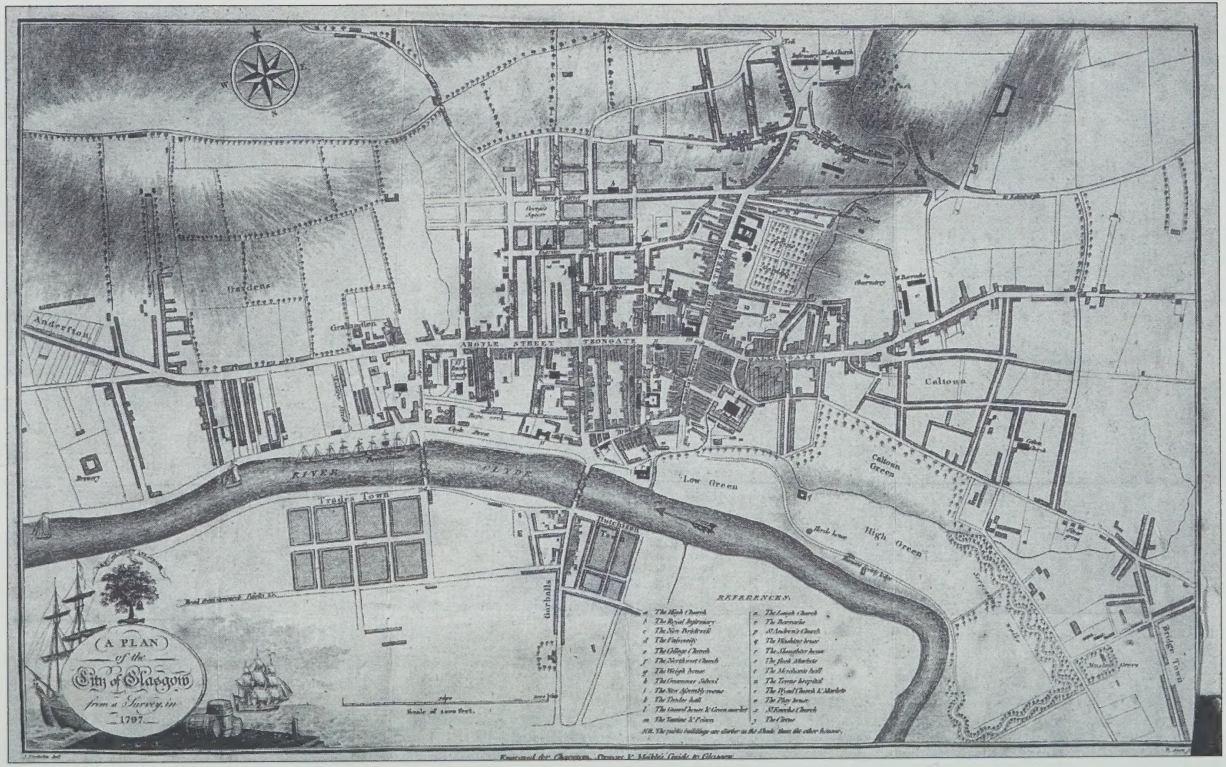
60 Minute Books of the Edinburgh Lodges, 1775-1790. Grand Lodge of Scotland Library.

61 Smellie MSS, Scottish Chronicle (draft proposal).

62 "If a partnership takes place between Smellie & Creech, the parliament house will have news of it before 3 years are at an end". Murray Archives, 10 November 1783.



Map of Edinburgh in the late eighteenth century. (From A. Kincaid, *The History of Edinburgh*. Edinburgh, 1787.)



Map of Glasgow at the end of the eighteenth century. (From James Denholm, *The History of the City of Glasgow and Suburbs*, 2nd ed. Glasgow, 1798.)

Marginalia on the Mind: John Robison and Thomas Reid

BY PAUL WOOD

In an influential essay, first published in 1982, entitled "What is the History of Books?", the noted American historian of eighteenth-century France, Robert Darnton, observed that "Reading remains the most difficult stage to study in the circuit [of communication between author and reader] that books follow".[1] Darnton's remark continues to ring true today, even though the literature on the history of the book has grown dramatically since the early 1980s. The historical development of the relationship between the various forms of the printed word and readers remains elusive, despite the appearance of such works as Carlo Ginzburg's reconstruction of the place of print in the mental universe of the sixteenth-century Friulian miller Menocchio, Lisa Jardine's and Anthony Grafton's exploration of the interaction of politics and reading in Elizabethan England as seen in the career of Gabriel Harvey, and Darnton's portrayal of how the writings of Jean-Jacques Rousseau eroded the distinction between art and life for eighteenth-century readers like the French merchant Jean Ranson.[2] Sweeping claims have been made about the significance of the emergence of silent reading as the dominant mode of engaging with texts and the replacement of group by solitary reading, as well as the shift from intensive to extensive reading habits, which some scholars argue precipitated a "revolution" in reading towards the end of the eighteenth century. None of these claims about the evolution of reading, however, has gained unqualified acceptance. Perhaps the history of the relationship between print and readers will continue to elude historical analysis because of the fragmentary state of the evidence and the often private and intimate nature of the experience. But if reliable generalizations about the history of reading are still wanting, studies of individual instances of readers responding to texts are often highly illuminating, and some might even prefer them to the schematic and sometimes arid abstractions of more theoretically-oriented histories of past reading practices.

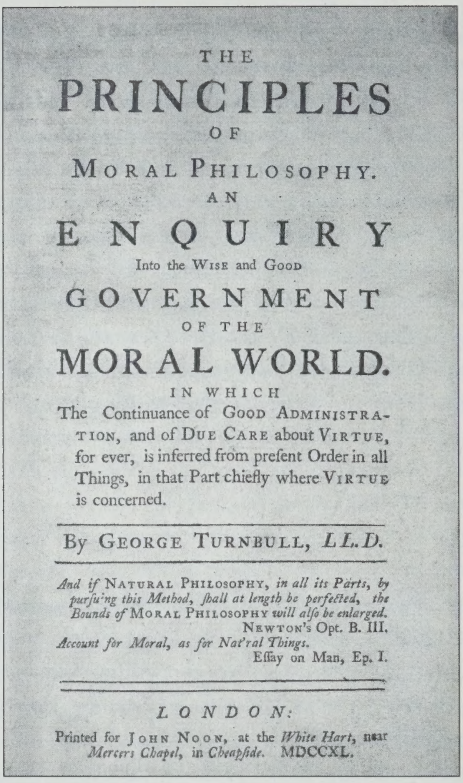
Fascinating clues about such practices in eighteenth-century Scotland are to be found in the marginalia contained in the copies of Thomas Reid's *Essays on the Intellectual Powers of Man* (1785) and *Essays on the Active Powers of Man* (1788) which were once owned by the Edinburgh Professor of Natural Philosophy John Robison, and which are now in the collection of the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library [Case 8]. Robison's marginalia are especially significant for a number of reasons. First, they provide us with valuable evidence about the reception of Common Sense philosophy in late eighteenth-century Scotland. For while intellectual historians have mapped out the public response to the writings of Reid and his associates in the reviews and philosophical literature of the day, we know little about the unpublished and largely private reactions of contemporary readers. Some evidence about these informal engagements with the works of Reid and his fellow Common Sense philosophers can of course be gleaned from personal correspondence which survives from the period, but it is patchy and it lacks the immediacy as well as the detailed character of Robison's marginalia. Hence Robison's annotations to Reid's two *Essays* allow us to document an important example of the hitherto unexplored private dimension of the Scottish reception of Common Sense philosophy.

Secondly, Robison's marginalia shed light on the dissemination of Reid's ideas among his Edinburgh circle of friends, which included his ex-pupil Dugald Stewart, his kinsman James Gregory, and his ex-colleague John Robison. All three men occupied prestigious chairs at the University of Edinburgh during the last quarter of the eighteenth century, and their teaching had a considerable impact on the students who came from across Britain, Europe, and the Americas to attend their lectures. Yet historians have hitherto focused on the intellectual affiliations between Reid, Stewart, and Gregory, whereas they have virtually ignored the equally important relationship between Reid and Robison. Robison was a formative influence on the style of mathematical physics which began to emerge in Britain at the turn of the nineteenth century, and his ideas are consequently of considerable historical interest. The sources for his views have not, however, been easy to identify. Writing in 1975, Richard Olson suggested that Robison's understanding of the methodological standards governing scientific inquiry was deeply indebted to Reid, but pointed to a lack of concrete evidence about the specifics of their connections and remarked that "I know of no explicit reference to Reid by Robison".[3] Olson implied that no such evidence was available, but he did not know of

Robison's copies of Reid's *Essays*, which show that toward the end of their careers the connections between the two men were both direct and intellectually fruitful. The marginalia, therefore, allow us both to reconstruct the evolution of Robison's philosophical outlook with greater precision than was previously possible and to broaden our knowledge of the dissemination of Reid's ideas in Edinburgh through the closing decades of the Scottish Enlightenment. Thirdly, Robison's marginalia raise a number of questions about how he read Reid's texts, and I shall explore various answers to these questions in the conclusion of this essay. But before I analyze Robison's marginalia, I want first to establish the context for his response to Reid. To do so, I will consider the author and the reader who figure in our case study of the practice of reading in eighteenth-century Scotland.

THE AUTHOR

Born on 26 April 1710 in the village of Strachan in Deeside, Thomas Reid was a son of the manse.[4] His father, Lewis Reid (1676-1762), came from a family in the north east of Scotland known for its piety and learning. His mother, Margaret Gregory (1673-1732), was from a distinguished family of merchants and mathematicians that produced a line of Scottish professors which extended into the nineteenth century. After being educated at the parish school in nearby Kincardine O'Neil, Reid was sent briefly to the Aberdeen Grammar School before he entered Marischal College Aberdeen in October 1722. His family was closely connected with Marischal — a seventeenth-century namesake, Thomas Reid (1583?-1624), taught there before setting out on his travels and left to the college his library, as well as a modest bequest to pay for the services of a librarian.[5] But even if there had been no family connection, it is likely that Reid's father would have sent him to Marischal because it was in a flourishing state in the 1720s, unlike its rival King's College in Old Aberdeen. After the disruption caused by the Jacobite uprising in 1715, in which all but one of the masters came out in favour of the Stuart cause, Marischal finally reopened its doors for classes in November 1717. Like King's, Marischal had been purged of its Jacobite sympathizers by a Royal Commission of Visitation, and a new generation of academics loyal to the Hanoverian regime had been installed under the leadership of the Professor of Divinity, Thomas Blackwell the elder, who was appointed Principal as a



THE
PRINCIPLES
OF
MORAL PHILOSOPHY.
AN
ENQUIRY
Into the WISE and GOOD
GOVERNMENT
OF THE
MORAL WORLD.
IN WHICH
The Continuance of GOOD ADMINISTRATION, and of DUE CARE about VIRTUE, for ever, is inferred from preſent Order in all Things, in that Part chiefly where VIRTUE is concerned.

By GEORGE TURNBULL, *LL.D.*

And if NATURAL PHILOSOPHY, *in all its Parts, by purſuing this Method, ſhall at length be perfected, the Bounds of* MORAL PHILOSOPHY *will alſo be enlarged.*
NEWTON's Opt. B. III.
Account for Moral, as for Natural Things.
Eſſay on Man, Ep. I.

LONDON:
Printed for JOHN NOON, at the *White Hart*, near *Mercers Chapel*, in *Cheapſide*. MDCCXL.

Title page to George Turnbull's *The Principles of Moral Philosophy*. London, 1740.

reward for his public opposition to Jacobitism. Marischal College now boasted a dynamic group of younger faculty which included Newton's protégé, the mathematician Colin Maclaurin; Blackwell's son Thomas, who became a noted scholar of classical antiquity; and the regent[6] David Verner, who was well versed in the latest works on the various branches of philosophy. This cohort was joined in 1721 by George Turnbull, who was a catalyst for the intellectual ferment at Marischal in the 1720s.

Reid joined Turnbull's class in November 1723, and over the course of the next three years his regent introduced to him to the ideas of Descartes, Locke, Newton, Bacon, Shaftesbury, the English Deists, and natural law theorists like Grotius and Pufendorf. More importantly, Turnbull taught Reid and his classmates that moralists ought to employ the empirical method when studying the science of human nature, and Turnbull

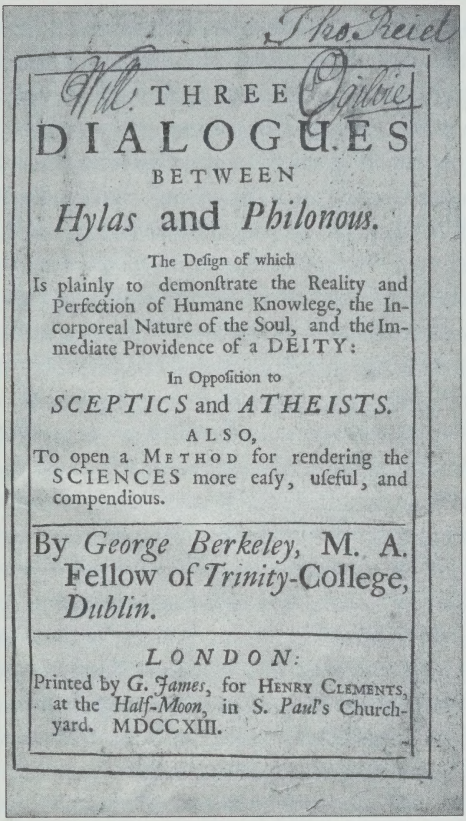
expounded this view in a graduation thesis published in 1723 and at greater length in his *The Principles of Moral Philosophy*, which appeared in 1740 [Case 7]. Reid took this message to heart, and became one of the most vocal advocates of the application of Newton's rules of philosophizing to the analysis of the human mind in eighteenth-century Scotland. Reid also took over various details from Turnbull's theory of the mind, and was deeply influenced by his teacher's views on education. Thus although Turnbull has sometimes been dismissed as a figure of little historical consequence when compared with the Glasgow Professor of Moral Philosophy, Francis Hutcheson, it is arguable that he had a significant impact on the course of the Scottish Enlightenment through his pupil Thomas Reid, and that he fostered a distinctive tradition of philosophical enquiry in the two Aberdeen colleges founded on his methodological reform of the study of the human sciences.[7]

Reid took his M.A. at Marischal in April 1726 and, following in his father's footsteps, proceeded to study divinity. He was eventually licensed to preach in September 1731 by the presbytery of Kincardine O'Neil, and he occupied minor posts with the presbytery in 1732-33 before becoming Librarian at Marischal College in July 1733. Little evidence survives concerning Reid's studies in this period. Of the few extant manuscripts which date from the 1720s and 1730s, one from October 1729 consists of detailed notes taken from Newton's *Principia* [Case 8], while another dealing with a mathematical topic contains a reference to the *Astronomiæ, physicæ, & geometricæ, elementa* (1702) written by one of his mother's brothers, the Savillian Professor of Astronomy at Oxford, David Gregory.[8] Both of these papers attest to Reid's considerable mathematical prowess, his early interest in Newtonian science, and to his friendship with the Marischal Professor of Mathematics, John Stewart, who had been a fellow student under George Turnbull. Reid was also thinking about topics in moral philosophy while he was Librarian at Marischal, for he took notes related to the meetings of a "Philosophical Club" which cover a range of subjects in morals, natural theology, metaphysics, and the science of human nature. These notes suggest that he was familiar with the writings of leading British philosophers of the early eighteenth century, including Hutcheson, Locke, Shaftesbury, Joseph Butler, and William King. In addition, a set of reading notes reveals that he studied closely the published exchanges between Newton's close associate Samuel Clarke and the great German polymath Leibniz.[9] Their argument centred on fundamental questions regarding God's relation to His creation, and their quarrel

reminds us that the Newtonian system of the world was bound up with a set of metaphysical and theological assumptions which were perhaps even more controversial than Newton's puzzling concept of gravitational attraction. For his part, Reid continued to reflect on these assumptions and the philosophical implications of Newtonian science for the rest of his career.

In the spring or early summer of 1736, Reid travelled to England with John Stewart. The trip was perhaps related to the legal dispute Reid was engaged in with the magistrates of Aberdeen at this time over the management of the bequest used to pay his salary as Librarian, but whatever prompted the trip south, he used the opportunity to visit scholarly contacts at the two ancient English universities, and to view the sights of the metropolis. By the time he returned to Aberdeen in late 1736, Reid had seemingly resigned his post at Marischal, and in February 1737 he was presented with the living of the nearby parish of New Machar by King's College, which at this point was controlled by a faction which included his kinsman James Gregory. Despite a somewhat rocky start to his new life as a Minister, Reid proved to be a conscientious clergyman, and his relations with his parishioners further improved after his marriage to his cousin, Elizabeth Reid, in August 1740. Reid's many clerical duties did not, however, preclude his pursuit of secular learning. Manuscripts dating from his years at New Machar document his continued engagement with the science of human nature, and to his careful reading of the works of Butler, Locke, Peter Browne, and George Berkeley [Case 7]. There are also hints that he was pondering the sceptical challenge posed by David Hume's *A Treatise of Human Nature* [Case 7], and he likely discussed Hume's theories with two local clergymen he associated with, George Campbell and Alexander Gerard.

Reid kept up his scientific and mathematical researches as well. His papers show that he maintained a serious interest in mathematical and physical astronomy, and he probably worked through aspects of Newton's mathematical legacy with John Stewart, who published an edition of Newton's *Two Treatises of the Quadrature of Curves* in 1745. In addition, Reid collaborated with Stewart and other men of science across Scotland in observing an eclipse of the sun in July 1748. That year also saw Reid submit his "Essay on Quantity" to the Royal Society of London, where it was read at a meeting held in November, before being published in the *Philosophical Transactions*. Prompted by Francis Hutcheson's attempt to formulate a moral calculus in the early editions of the *Inquiry into the Original of our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue*, Reid had been reflecting on


Thos. Reid

THREE DIALOGUES BETWEEN *Hylas* and *Philonous*.

The Deſign of which
Is plainly to demonſtrate the Reality and Perfection of Humane Knowlege, the Incorporeal Nature of the Soul, and the Immediate Providence of a DEITY:

In Oppoſition to
SCEPTICS and *ATHEISTS*.

ALSO,
To open a METHOD for rendering the SCIENCES more eaſy, uſeful, and compendious.

By *George Berkeley*, M. A. Fellow of *Trinity*-College, *Dublin*.

LONDON:
Printed by *G. James*, for HENRY CLEMENTS, at the *Half-Moon*, in *S. Paul's* Church-yard. MDCCXIII.

Thomas Reid's copy of Bishop Berkeley's *Three Dialogues between Hylas and Philonous*. London, 1713.

the nature of quantity since the late 1730s in order to criticize moralists like Hutcheson, who thought that mathematical calculation could be applied to morality, and at some point in the 1740s he extended his argument to the debate between the followers of Newton and Leibniz over the correct measurement of the force of moving bodies. Not surprisingly, in the "Essay" Reid indicated that the Newtonian measure of mv was preferable to the Leibnizian measure of mv^2, although he later implied that his conclusions were suspect because he had been insufficiently informed about the positions taken by the two sides. But whatever its flaws, the "Essay" well illustrates the ease with which he moved between mathematics, the natural sciences, and moral philosophy, and it provides further

evidence for both his deep commitment to the Newtonian cause and his critical stance towards key features of Hutcheson's philosophical system.

Reid's quiet life in his rural parish came to an abrupt end in October 1751. Alexander Rait, a long-serving regent at King's College, died on the 21st of the month, and Reid was elected to succeed him on the 25th. Again, Reid owed his appointment to his connection with the Gregory family and their allies at the college. Reid now embarked on one of the busiest periods in his career. Inspired by the educational ideals of Locke and Turnbull among others, he played an active role in the reform of the management and curriculum of the college which occurred in 1753, and he was the most dynamic teacher at King's during his time there. Significantly, Reid argued for the retention of the regenting system on the grounds that it benefited the moral development of students; the fact that his argument carried the day meant that while he was at King's he had to teach the whole of the *cursus philosophicus*. In a given three-year cycle, he lectured on algebra, geometry, fluxions, applied mathematics, geography, natural history, natural philosophy (including mechanics, astronomy, electricity and magnetism, hydrostatics, pneumatics, and optics), pneumatology (i.e. the science of the mind), natural theology, ethics, politics, natural law, economics, logic, and rhetoric. While he may not have been able to provide his students with the detailed knowledge which a specialised professor was able to impart, Reid was at least able to give them a sense that all of the branches of the curriculum were part of a coherent system, and in so doing kept alive the Baconian vision of the unity of human knowledge that had informed the work of Turnbull and the generation of men who created the Scottish Enlightenment.

This Baconian vision also shaped the institutional character of the Aberdeen Philosophical Society, of which Reid was a founder member. The Society, otherwise known as the Wise Club, included members from both Aberdeen colleges as well as two local ministers. Most of the men involved in the Society were connected to James Ogilivie, Lord Deskford, who was a leading improver and a powerful political figure in Scotland. Deskford advanced the careers of individuals in the north east like Reid who were moderate in religion, polite, learned, and dedicated to the economic and cultural improvement of the nation, and in so doing left his stamp on both the Wise Club and King's College Aberdeen, where he served as Chancellor from May 1761 until his tragic suicide in November 1770. At the Society's meetings, which continued from 1758 until 1773, the members canvassed diverse subjects, ranging from agricultural improve-

ment, to the science of man. Reid's contributions to the proceedings illustrate this diversity, for he read papers on the philosophy of mind, the definitions and axioms of Euclid's *Elements*, plant physiology, educational theory, political economy, morals, and the transit of Venus observed by Reid and some of his colleagues in 1761. Yet amid the variety, there was one common thread which ran through the proceedings of the Society, namely a collective opposition to the sceptical tenets of David Hume. All of the members were prepared to accommodate specific details from Hume's system, and even Reid went so far as to declare that he was Hume's "Disciple in Metaphysicks".[10] But beginning with a sermon by Robert Trail in 1755, members of the Society published a series of works attacking Hume, including a sermon by Alexander Gerard in 1758, George Campbell's *A Dissertation on Miracles* in 1762 [Case 6] and, in 1764, the fruit of Reid's years at King's College, his *An Inquiry into the Human Mind, on the Principles of Common Sense* [Case 7].

Begun in earnest in 1761 or early 1762, Reid's *Inquiry* has its origins in the lectures on the mind that he gave at King's and in a sequence of discourses on the external senses and perception he delivered before the Wise Club between 1758 and 1763.[11] Whereas Trail, Gerard, and Campbell had all focused on aspects of Hume's critique of religion, Reid was the first to tackle Hume's epistemology head on. Another member of the Club, James Beattie, followed in Reid's philosophical footsteps in the highly popular but somewhat bombastic *An Essay on the Nature and Immutability of Truth*, which appeared in 1770. Tracing the origins of Humean scepticism back to the theory of perception advanced in the modern era by Descartes, Locke, Malebranche, and Berkeley, Reid scrutinized the assumptions, empirical evidence, and arguments taken to justify what he called the "ideal system", and contended that the theory of ideas was an ill-grounded hypothesis which did not fit the facts ascertained by introspection and experiment concerning the operation of the human senses. Developing themes found in Berkeley's *An Essay towards a New Theory of Vision*, Reid claimed that in perception our sensations suggest to us a belief in the existence of the objects or qualities which cause them, and that our sensations and ideas are signs in a language (established by God) which informs us about ourselves and the external world. Reid thus turned Berkeley's theory of vision in the direction of realism rather than idealism, and thereby sought to neutralize the scepticism implicit in the system of ideas.

While philosophers and psychologists have come to appreciate the

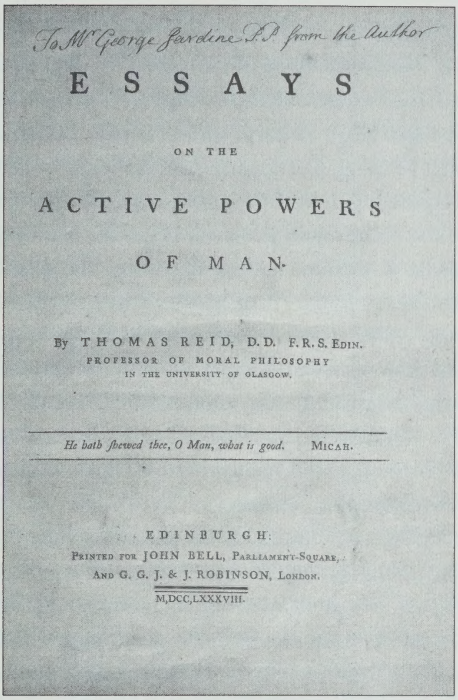
The College of Glasgow. (From J. Slezer, *Theatrum Scotiæ*. London, 1693)

sophistication of Reid's analysis of human perception, other features of the *Inquiry* distinguish it as a significant contribution to the Enlightenment science of man. First, unlike many of his contemporaries, Reid went beyond paying mere lip service to the need to apply the empirical method to the study of human nature. The *Inquiry* represents one of the most rigorous applications of the Newtonian method to the investigation of the mind in the eighteenth century, and his fluency in the idiom of Newtonian science went far beyond that of the majority of his fellow philosophers. Historians often credit Hume with being the first great Newtonian of the mind, but Hume's use of the Newtonian method seems superficial when compared with Reid's, which perhaps reflects the fact that whereas Reid was actively engaged in scientific research, Hume was not. Secondly, Reid's invention of a non-Euclidean "geometry of visibles" (which grows out of themes in Berkeley's theory of vision) exemplifies both his mathematical expertise and his ability to weave together mathematical, philosophical, and empirical considerations into a seamless whole. Although we now live in a conceptual world in which philosophy and science are typically seen as distinct fields of knowledge, Reid's *Inquiry* is a clear reminder that the relation between the two areas was differently conceived in the Enlightenment, and that Reid was as much a man of science as he was a "philosopher" in the twentieth-century sense of the term.

With the *Inquiry* Reid established his credentials as Hume's most acute critic, and it was partly because he was regarded as an able defender of a moderate, rational brand of Christianity, that he was elected to succeed Adam Smith as the Glasgow Professor of Moral Philosophy in May 1764. Reid's intellectual qualifications were not in themselves sufficient to gain him the position, however, for like any candidate for a university position in eighteenth-century Scotland he also needed the support of powerful patrons who could secure the endorsement not only of the individual faculty members who were voting, but also of the political managers controlling the election. He was fortunate in this instance to have been backed by Lord Deskford, and by Deskford's associate, Henry Home, Lord Kames. First introduced to Reid by Deskford in 1762, Kames wielded considerable influence among the Glasgow professors and evidently played a leading role in persuading the political managers and the majority of the faculty that Reid should have the chair.[12] The fact that the vote was not unanimous appears not to have fazed Reid, for he quickly accepted the appointment. In the summer of 1764, he and his family moved to Glasgow, and in October he gave his first classes.

Reid brought to the chair a pedagogical style which differed markedly from that established by his predecessor, Francis Hutcheson. For whereas Hutcheson had famously displayed "Warmth in the Cause of Virtue"[13] in his teaching, Reid was known for having a dry delivery, and his lectures were praised for their perspicacity rather than for any inspirational quality. Nonetheless, Reid was a successful teacher and attracted more students at Glasgow than Adam Smith had done, although he could not rival the draw of the moralist Adam Ferguson at Edinburgh.[14] The structure and content of his moral philosophy course also marked a break with the precedents set by Hutcheson and Smith. Although Reid had to follow the established pattern of lecturing to a "public" class for one hour each weekday morning and then examining his auditors for a further hour from Monday to Friday, he structured his lectures in a manner that was new to Glasgow. Whereas Hutcheson and Smith had divided their courses into four major segments devoted to natural religion, morals, jurisprudence, and government, Reid split his course into three parts covering pneumatology, ethics, and politics. This allowed him to open his lectures with an extensive survey of the various intellectual and active powers of the mind, in order to provide a secure foundation in the science of human nature for his discussion of natural theology, ethics, politics, and political economy. Reid's emphasis on the anatomy of the mind gave a new direction to the teaching of moral philosophy in Glasgow, and his argument with Hume over the foundations of human knowledge and the theory of morals served as the backbone for his public course. In addition, Reid was required to teach an hour-long "private" class for advanced students three days per week, and here too he covered a different range of subjects from those dealt with by either Hutcheson or Smith. For his part, Reid canvassed the "culture of the mind", which was a branch of learning delineated by Sir Francis Bacon and enthusiastically taken up by a number of Aberdeen moralists including David Fordyce. In his private lectures, Reid outlined the elements of logic, rhetoric, and the fine arts, and in doing so drew out the practical implications of his theory of the mind for these subjects. In sum, Reid's teaching at Glasgow was much more firmly rooted in the science of human nature than that of his predecessors, and his lectures represent the first major step in the spread of common sense philosophy from the two Aberdeen colleges to the other Scottish universities during the second half of the eighteenth century.

Along with Reid's gruelling teaching load went a considerable amount of administrative responsibility, and over the years he was drawn into the


To Mr George Jardine D.D. from the Author

ESSAYS

ON THE

ACTIVE POWERS

OF MAN.

By THOMAS REID, D.D. F.R.S. EDIN.
PROFESSOR OF MORAL PHILOSOPHY
IN THE UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW.

He hath shewed thee, O Man, what is good. MICAH.

EDINBURGH:
PRINTED FOR JOHN BELL, PARLIAMENT-SQUARE,
AND G. G. J. & J. ROBINSON, LONDON.
M,DCC,LXXXVIII.

Thomas Reid's presentation copy of his *Essays on the Active Powers of Man* (Edinburgh, 1788) to George Jardine.

many disputes which divided the Glasgow faculty. One of his closest allies was the Professor of Natural Philosophy, John Anderson, who had earned the nickname "Jolly Jack Phosphorus", as much for his fiery temper as for his dramatic demonstration experiments. The two of them were implacable opponents of the Principal of the University, William Leechman, and the resulting acrimony of faculty politics inevitably spilled over into the proceedings of the Glasgow Literary Society, whose members were largely drawn from the ranks of the professoriate. Reid took an active part in the Society, and his contributions covered a wide array of topics. He discoursed on the intellectual and active powers of the mind, the materialism of Joseph Priestley, utopian politics, muscular motion, and the conceptual foundations of Euclidean geometry, while leading the discussion of questions related to political economy, political and moral theory, and the University's compilation of a new library catalogue. The debates within the Society were sometimes contentious, and it seems that Reid

had some sharp exchanges with the Professor of Civil Law, John Millar, over the merits of Hume's philosophical system.[15] With Leechman's death in 1785, however, the divisions in the college became less marked, and the meetings of the Literary Society consequently became less fraught, although Reid's increasing deafness made it difficult for him to participate in the proceedings as fully as he had once done. The 1780s also saw Reid's election as a Fellow of the newly founded Royal Society of Edinburgh, and his emergence as a prominent public figure in Glasgow by virtue of his support for a number of philanthropic causes, the most notable being the Glasgow Infirmary, which received a Royal Charter in 1791. Politically, he championed the anti-slavery movement, and he joined the Glasgow Friends of Liberty to promote the ideals of the French Revolution. But like many British liberals, he recoiled from the Terror and the growing radicalism of the French, and distanced himself in the Glasgow press from the excesses of revolutionary politics.

In May 1780 Reid relinquished his teaching duties to his assistant, Archibald Arthur, so that he could devote more time to research and writing. He immediately set about revising his lectures and related materials with an eye to publication, eventually producing his *Essays on the Intellectual Powers of Man* in 1785 and his *Essays on the Active Powers of Man* in 1788. Because he recycled material dating back to the 1750s, his two *Essays* do not entirely register the important shift in his thought that occurred in the 1770s in response to the writings of Joseph Priestley. Whereas David Hume had been the primary target of Reid's philosophizing through the 1750s and 1760s, in the 1770s Priestley displaced Hume as Reid's principal antagonist. Priestley apparently read Reid's *Inquiry* soon after it was published, and he moved to the attack in his *Examination* of the writings of Reid, Beattie, and the Reverend James Oswald, which appeared in 1774. Rejecting the claim made by the Scottish Common Sense philosophers that there are innate principles governing our mental operations, Priestley defended an associationist view of the mind, which he went on to expound in the prefatory essays to his *Hartley's Theory of the Human Mind* (1775). Reid responded with a highly critical anonymous review of *Hartley's Theory* in the *Monthly Review* for 1775 and 1776; his papers also show that he kept a watchful eye on Priestley's philosophical publications, including the exchanges between Priestley and Richard Price collected together in 1778 under the title *A Free Discussion of the Doctrines of Materialism, and Philosophical Necessity* [Case 7]. Like Price, Reid was deeply unsympathetic to Priestley's metaphysics, and he

engaged publicly with Priestley's necessitarianism in the *Essays on the Active Powers of Man*. Priestley's materialism, on the other hand, was the target of Reid's major unpublished work written in the 1780s, "Some Observations on the Modern System of Materialism", which may well have circulated in manuscript among Reid's associates in Glasgow and Edinburgh. Athough the "Observations" never made it into print, the time Reid evidently spent writing and revising his text reinforce the point that during the 1780s he focused most of his intellectual energies on refuting Priestley, and that the issues raised by materialism and necessitarianism had come to preoccupy him more than Humean scepticism.

If the decade following Reid's retirement from teaching was one of intense philosophical activity, his last years saw a gradual decline of pace. Apart from working on miscellaneous mathematical topics and learning about the latest advances in chemistry issuing from France, he did not initiate any new projects in either moral or natural philosophy, although the French Revolution precluded any significant decrease in his involvement with political affairs, and he still campaigned for various philanthropic causes. Despite suffering a serious personal blow with the death of his wife in 1792, he soldiered on under the care of his daughter Martha, who was his only surviving child. Reid apparently hoped to bring his philosophical career to a close by publishing revised editions of the two *Essays*, but he did not succeed in doing so, for he died on 7 October 1796 before the task was completed. Such unfinished business did not, however, detract from his achievement or lessen the regard of his Scottish contemporaries, who would have agreed with an anonymous obituarist that Reid had effected "a memorable revolution in the Philosophy of Human Nature" by "unravelling sceptical perplexities, overturning ill-founded hypotheses, and resting every conclusion on evident principles".[16]

THE READER

John Robison was born in Glasgow on 4 February 1739, the son of a retired Glasgow merchant.[17] As a young boy, he was sent to the Glasgow Grammar School, and then studied at the University of Glasgow, where he took his M.A. in 1756. While he was a college student, he was encouraged by the renowned Professor of Mathematics, Robert Simson; Simson's friend, the classicist James Moor; and the Professor of Natural Philosophy,

Robert Dick *secundus*. Robison proved himself to be an able pupil, for the year after he graduated he published an improved design for the Newcomen engine in *The Universal Magazine of Knowledge and Pleasure*.[18] This early piece is highly significant because it illustrates a defining characteristic of Robison's scientific style, also evident in the posthumously published *A System of Mechanical Philosophy* [Case 8], namely his fascination with practical matters and his determination to improve technology through the application of scientific principles. Following his graduation, new friendships in Glasgow provided further stimulus to Robison's practical interests, for it was in the period 1756 to 1758 that he first met James Watt and Joseph Black, the two men who shaped Robison's career as a man of science. Their initial period of contact was cut short, however, by Robison's decision to look for employment in London, rather than enter the ministry as his father wished.

Armed with reference letters from Simson and Black, Robison went south in 1758 and became tutor to Edward Knowles, the son of Admiral Sir Charles Knowles. With his young charge Robison entered service in the Royal Navy, and the two of them sailed for Quebec in February 1759, where they took part in the siege of Quebec led by General Wolfe. Returning to England, Robison left the Navy and went to live with Admiral Knowles as a paid companion. Disillusioned by naval life and somewhat debilitated by having suffered from scurvy, Robison considered complying with his father's wishes and becoming a cleric, but in the end he rejoined the Navy and was made a purser under Edward Knowles in 1761. Thanks to the patronage of Admiral Knowles a golden opportunity for career advancement presented itself in 1762, when Robison was appointed by the Board of Longitude to test John Harrison's chronometer. In November 1762 Robison set sail with Harrison for Jamaica (a trip which Robison recalled in his annotations to Reid's *Essays on the Active Powers of Man* [Case 8]), and, having calculated the accuracy of the chronometer when they reached Port Royal at the end of their Atlantic crossing, they embarked on the return journey in January 1763. After an eventful voyage (during which the ship experienced bad weather, broke the rudder, sprang a serious leak, and caught fire) Robison landed in England in late March, only to find that neither the Admiralty nor the Board of Longitude were willing to pay him for his work with Harrison. Despite Admiral Knowles's intervention on his behalf, Robison failed to secure any remuneration from either of the government bodies and he therefore left London for Glasgow, intent on joining the church.

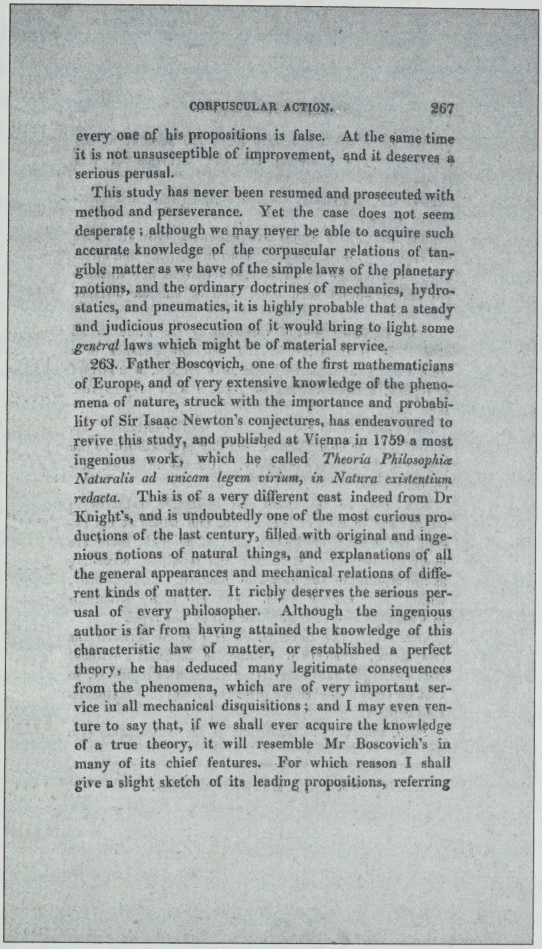
Back in Glasgow, Robison caught up on the latest work being done by Black and Watt. Instead of taking up theology, Robison began a systematic study of chemistry inspired by Black's revolutionary researches on latent and specific heats. Having discussed the design of steam engines with Watt before leaving Glasgow for London in 1758, Robison returned to the subject in the winter of 1763-64, when Watt initiated the inquiries that culminated in his invention of the separate condenser. Robison and Watt collaborated, too, on an array of practical projects, including the construction of an improved perspective machine. When Thomas Reid moved to Glasgow in the summer of 1764, he was quickly caught up in the intellectual ferment surrounding the work of Black and Watt, and must have met Robison soon after arriving at the college.[19] When Black left Glasgow for Edinburgh in 1766, Reid most likely supported Robison's appointment as Black's successor as Lecturer in Chemistry, and Reid may also have been involved in Robison's electrical researches carried out in the late 1760s.

Although he was a successful instructor, Robison's lectureship was poorly paid, and he had to supplement his income by acting as a private tutor. Consequently, when the opportunity arose in 1770 for Robison to improve his position, he seized the chance to leave Glasgow for St. Petersburg as private secretary to Admiral Knowles, who had been appointed by Catherine the Great to reform the Russian navy. In 1772, Robison was made Professor of Mathematics at Kronstadt, teaching members of the Imperial Sea Cadet Corps of Nobles; he was also given the rank of Colonel, a generous salary, and some administrative responsibilities within the navy. He was thus happily settled and well regarded in the expatriate British community in Russia, with excellent prospects and the promise of further patronage from Catherine. But his life now took another unexpected turn. Thanks to the efforts of Joseph Black and others, Robison was elected as the Edinburgh Professor of Natural Philosophy in 1773, and, much to the disappointment of the Empress, he accepted the offer. As a gesture of goodwill, Catherine awarded Robison a pension when he resigned office in 1774, and his standing in Russia was such that he was eventually made a Foreign Member of the Imperial Academy of Sciences in 1800.

Back in Edinburgh, Robison made the most of his new appointment. Beginning in 1774-75, he gave a demanding course of lectures at the University that covered the sciences of dynamics, mechanics, astronomy, optics, electricity, and magnetism. Outside of the classroom, he was instrumental in the revival of the ailing Philosophical Society of

Edinburgh, and served as its Secretary from around 1778 until the Society was incorporated into the Royal Society of Edinburgh in 1783. Robison was then chosen to fill the important position of General Secretary to the Royal Society, and he remained in the post until 1798. Professional stability also brought about a change in his personal life: in 1777 Robison married Rachel Wright, and the following year he became a father. This period of prosperity was, however, short-lived. Unlike Black, Robison was not a popular teacher because most students were not equipped to deal with the mathematical or conceptual technicalities of his course. Moreover, he refused to include the sort of entertaining demonstration experiments used by Black to enliven his lectures. Consequently, Robison's lectures were, as his biographer John Playfair observed, "less popular than might have been expected from such a combination of rare talents as [Robison] possessed", although Playfair was more inclined to attribute the small class sizes to "the rapidity of his discourse, which was in general beyond the rate at which accurate reasoning can be easily followed".[20] Whatever the reason, since Robison's income was dependent on class fees, he ended up being one of the lowest paid of the Edinburgh professors, and this caused him considerable anxiety because he thought his finances placed an undue strain on his wife and family.[21] Furthermore, in the mid-1780s Robison was afflicted with a mysterious debilitating illness that made lecturing difficult, and, from 1791 until 1796, he was so unwell that he was unable to teach. Unfortunately, even the laudanum he took to relieve his pain made his condition worse, and some scholars have attributed the intensity of Robison's reaction to the French Revolution and to the rise of the French school of chemistry to the fact that he was taking large quantities of opium during the last two decades of his life.[22]

Despite his personal problems, Robison continued to be an active man of science. In the 1780s and 1790s he published important articles in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh* on optics and astronomy [Case 8] that established his reputation as one of the leading practitioners of Newtonian science in late eighteenth-century Britain. But the brand of Newtonianism displayed in these papers was not rooted in the form of omnivorous experimentalism popular with Robison's British contemporaries; rather, his scientific style was modelled on Newton's *Principia* [Case 8] and blended rigorous mathematics with a select number of carefully contrived experiments. His correspondence with Watt from this period shows that he also hoped to write a book on practical mechanics intended for engineers and millwrights. Although this project



CORPUSCULAR ACTION. 267

every one of his propositions is false. At the same time it is not unsusceptible of improvement, and it deserves a serious perusal.

This study has never been resumed and prosecuted with method and perseverance. Yet the case does not seem desperate; although we may never be able to acquire such accurate knowledge of the corpuscular relations of tangible matter as we have of the simple laws of the planetary motions, and the ordinary doctrines of mechanics, hydrostatics, and pneumatics, it is highly probable that a steady and judicious prosecution of it would bring to light some *general* laws which might be of material service.

263. Father Boscovich, one of the first mathematicians of Europe, and of very extensive knowledge of the phenomena of nature, struck with the importance and probability of Sir Isaac Newton's conjectures, has endeavoured to revive this study, and published at Vienna in 1759 a most ingenious work, which he called *Theoria Philosophiæ Naturalis ad unicam legem virium, in Natura existentium redacta.* This is of a very different cast indeed from Dr Knight's, and is undoubtedly one of the most curious productions of the last century, filled with original and ingenious notions of natural things, and explanations of all the general appearances and mechanical relations of different kinds of matter. It richly deserves the serious perusal of every philosopher. Although the ingenious author is far from having attained the knowledge of this characteristic law of matter, or established a perfect theory, he has deduced many legitimate consequences from the phenomena, which are of very important service in all mechanical disquisitions; and I may even venture to say that, if we shall ever acquire the knowledge of a true theory, it will resemble Mr Boscovich's in many of its chief features. For which reason I shall give a slight sketch of its leading propositions, referring

A page from vol. 1 of John Robison's *A System of Mechanical Philosophy.* Edinburgh, 1822.

never came to fruition, many of his contributions to the third edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* [Cases 6 and 8], written in the years 1793 to 1801, were devoted to practical subjects; they were republished (along with other pieces) in *A System of Mechanical Philosophy* edited by David Brewster [Case 8]. Eventually, Robison began revising his natural philosophy lectures for the press, but he only managed to publish one volume covering dynamics and astronomy before his sudden death on 30 January 1805.

In addition to being a master of the technicalities of scientific research, Robison was preoccupied with the metaphysical and religious implications of the physical sciences. His marginalia in Reid's two volumes of *Essays* should be read in the context of his own philosophical concerns, and in relation to a number of his articles in *Encyclopædia Britannica* [Case 8]. Robison's worries about mechanism, materialism, and atheism also surface in his most popular publication, the *Proofs of a Conspiracy against all the Religions and Governments of Europe*, which first appeared in 1797, and which was quickly issued in a second edition [Case 8]. In the *Proofs*, he contended that the French Revolution had been orchestrated by secret societies and Freemasons, who, he argued, continued to pose a threat to social stability across Europe. For Robison, revolutionary politics went hand in hand with philosophical heterodoxy. He vigorously attacked the atheistic consequences of the scientific speculations of the *philosophes*, and claimed that Newton would have regretted suggesting the existence of etherial media had he known that his comments would foster the rise of materialism in Britain and France. Criticisms of Voltaire, Diderot, Rousseau, Laplace, Condorcet, Gibbon, and Wollstonecraft festoon the text of the *Proofs*, but Robison reserved his most venomous comments for Joseph Priestley, who had "been preparing the minds of his readers for Atheism by his theory of the mind, and by his commentary on the unmeaning jargon of Dr. Hartley".[23] While some of Robison's associates regarded the *Proofs* as something of an embarrassment, the work enhanced his reputation in certain quarters and he was awarded honorary degrees by Princeton (1798) and Glasgow (1799).

During the last decade of his life, Robison's devotion to Watt and Black was undiminished. Despite being seriously ill, Robison travelled to London in December 1796 to present evidence on Watt's behalf before the Court of Common Pleas in a legal battle involving the patent for the separate condenser the two men had worked on in the 1760s. His intervention helped Watt to win the case. Then, in December 1799, Robison agreed to edit the chemical lectures of the recently deceased Black in order to vindicate Black's reputation as a chemist in the face of what he saw as the imperiousness of the French school of chemistry, led by Lavoisier. The task proved far more difficult than he had anticipated, however, because he discovered that Black's notes were in a disordered state, and that the lectures themselves contained little that gave a true sense of Black's scientific stature. Robison agonized over this project until 1803, when he finally saw Black's *Lectures on the Elements of Chemistry* through

the press [Case 8]. While it may not be an entirely reliable guide to the lectures Black actually delivered at Edinburgh, the edition stands as a lasting tribute to the memory of his esteemed friend.

THE MARGINALIA

Unfortunately, it cannot be established precisely when or how Robison worked his way through Reid's two *Essays*. The uniform binding of the two volumes might be an indication that Robison purchased them together after the publication of the *Essays on the Active Powers*, but this remains uncertain. The wording of the annotations suggests that they were written before Reid's death in 1796, but they provide no other clues about dating.[24] We cannot, therefore, ascertain whether Robison read the two *Essays* separately as they came out, or whether he read them together sequentially after 1788. But it may be that Robison read the second volume of Reid's essays over an extended period of time, because Robison repeats on pages 132 and 414 the same detailed anecdote about the behaviour of Deptford the Newfoundland dog during the voyage out to Jamaica that Robison took in November 1762. The repetition may indicate that Robison did not read the text in a continuous fashion, and hence forgot that he had already recorded the story, although it is possible that the repetition might have been due to the effects of his opium habit.

What is immediately striking about the marginalia in both volumes of Reid's *Essays* is the extent to which Robison was in basic agreement with his friend's philosophical views. While there are a number of specific details in the two *Essays* with which Robison takes issue, it is clear that he looked to Reid as a kind of mentor in philosophy. Thus, on page 149 of the *Essays on the Intellectual Powers*, Robison comments *a propos* a passage of linguistic analysis, "Excellent and legitimate Use of the uniformity of Language". Similar notes of approval are to be found in the *Essays on the Active Powers*, such as that on page 20 beside one of Reid's arguments for our having a concept of active power, "This demonstration is unexceptionable and complete". The most remarkable expression of Robison's admiration for Reid comes, however, on page 338 of the *Essays on the Active Powers* where Robison writes of Reid's discussion of the efficacy of prayer:

> I believe no Man ever thought more calmly, or more candidly. And I know none who has thought more patiently and profoundly than dr Reid. His assertion at the end of the preceed-

> ing paragraph [about God's government of the world] cannot, I think be refuted. What he says therefore in this paragraph [regarding prayer] should be received with that deference which so much acuteness and good sense naturally claims.

We see in the marginalia, therefore, the same deference toward Reid that later finds its way into print in Robison's articles in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Additionally, in this particular annotation we see a suggestion of a theological disagreement between Reid and Robison on the one hand, and their ex-colleague William Leechman on the other, whose sermon on the nature of prayer provoked a storm of criticism in the 1740s [Reading Room Case].

As well as exhibiting the same spirit of sympathetic response, Robison's marginalia cover similar ground to his *Britannica* articles, especially that on philosophy. For example, the philosophy article includes a detailed discussion of causation that owes much to Reid and, not surprisingly, this topic figures prominently in Robison's marginal notes to Reid's *Essays on the Active Powers*.[25] The nature of sensory perception is a second area of overlap between the marginalia and the *Britannica* article on philosophy. In his article, Robison followed Reid in arguing that in perception our sensations are accompanied by a belief in the existence of the objects causing those sensations, and he invoked the concept of sensations as signs that Reid had derived from Berkeley.[26] The fact that Robison apparently adopted Reid's theory of perception almost wholesale may explain why the annotations on the relevant sections of the *Essays on the Intellectual Powers* are comparatively sparse. But Robison was seemingly dissatisfied with Reid's critique of the theory of ideas, for in the margin of a paragraph at the bottom of page 207 dealing with the key phrase "being present to the mind", Robison asks "Why does not D^{r} Reid take notice in this place of M^{r} Humes account of Space, situation, distance?". According to Robison, the precise meaning of the phrase in Hume's writings was a "momentous question" which he evidently regretted that Reid had left unanswered.[27]

A third area of overlap concerns the interpretation of Newton's scientific and philosophical legacy. In Robison's philosophy article, Newton figures as the greatest student of nature since Aristotle and the exponent of the true method of philosophizing. In the marginalia, Robison was likewise concerned to defend Newton's reputation, which led him to criticize passages in the *Essays on the Intellectual Powers*. On page 114 Robison queries a remark made by Reid regarding inertia, while on page 204 he

challenges Reid's construal of Newton's affirmation that matter in and of itself cannot act at a distance. On page 660 he questions Reid's claim that Newton had been misled by the love of simplicity into stating that all natural phenomena are explicable in terms of the operations of attractive and repulsive powers.[28] Predictably, Reid's exposition of Newton's rules of philosophizing also elicited extensive marginal comment, although on this topic Robison was in almost complete agreement with Reid. In his philosophy article, Robison not only endorsed Reid's view that Newton's method is rooted in the principles of common sense, he also echoed Reid's attack on analogical reasoning and hypotheses, and employed almost the same language as Reid to dismiss theories which invoke "ethers, nervous fluids, animal spirits, vortices, vibrations, and other invisible agents" to account for the phenomena of nature.[29] In the marginalia to the *Essays on the Intellectual Powers*, Robison focuses on Reid's criticisms of the hypothetical method. In so doing, he takes a swipe on page 48 at those, who, like David Hartley, contended that the probability of an hypothesis can be established through mathematical calculation, and on page 51 he states the core of the logical argument against hypotheses which he uses in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* article.[30] If anything, Robison is even more radical in his denunciation of hypotheses than Reid, as can be seen in his note to Reid's formulation of the *vera causa* principle on page 86 of the *Essays on the Intellectual Powers*. Here Robison insists that it is not enough to demonstrate that a putative causal agent actually exists in nature, as Reid demands, but that it must also be shown that the cause "exert[s] itself ... in every modification of the Phenomenon" under consideration. This more stringent criterion signals Robison's determination to rid philosophy of hypotheses, and he continued his campaign in his *Britannica* article, where he went beyond Reid and effectively ruled out any appeal to unobservable causal mechanisms.[31]

Robison's extreme anti-hypotheticalism was bound up with his epistemology, and his map of the limits of human knowledge is a fourth area of overlap between the marginalia and his philosophy article. Like Reid, Robison maintained that humankind exists in a state of nescience regarding the ultimate causes of natural phenomena. According to Robison, our nescience also extends to human nature itself, for on page 75 of the *Essays on the Intellectual Powers* he seconds Reid's assertion that "a perfect comprehension of our mental powers, and of the manner of their operation, is beyond the reach of our understanding", writing that "It must, in the nature of thing, be impossible to know how we know". But as this

remark implies, humankind *can* acquire knowledge, and for Robison what we truly know are either particular facts or the empirical regularities observable in natural phenomena, that is, the "laws of nature".[32] Following Reid, Robison was thus trying to fashion an epistemology that could function as a *via media* between dogmatism and idle speculation on the one hand, and Humean scepticism on the other. It is significant in this regard that on the title page of his copy of the *Essays on the Intellectual Powers* Robison transcribed a passage from Reid on just this point. In so doing, Robison framed the reading of the text as a whole in terms of Reid steering a course between the Scylla of scepticism and the Charybdis of human vanity. But this route can only be taken if one assumes that the principles governing human nature are so arranged that human knowledge is indeed possible. Especially in the annotations to the *Essays on the Active Powers*, we find Robison agreeing with Reid that the faculties of the mind constitute a divinely ordered system designed to provide us with both moral and natural knowledge. This belief in what is now called "providential naturalism" surfaces most strongly in Robison's marginal comment on a passage on page 62 of the *Essays on the Active Powers* concerning the importance of non-rational principles of action in humankind:

> It deserves peculiar Notice that this is the Case in all the Actions that are indispensably necessary for our subsistence and preservation. None of these are entrusted to our Reason. The preservation of the Individual by food, the continuance of the Species, the acquisition of Knowledge, are put under the blind but sure [illegible] of hunger, of sexual desire, and of Curiosity.[33]

Such was the natural theological significance of instincts within the economy of nature for Reid that on page 105 of the *Essays on the Active Powers* he observed that, "The instinct of animals is one of the most delightful and instructive parts of a most pleasant study, that of natural history; and deserves to be more cultivated than it has yet been". In the margin beside this passage, Robison signalled his endorsement of the sentiment by ruefully remarking that, "There cannot be a more decisive mark of the degeneracy of the philosophical Mind than the [illegible] which have happened of late [illegible] in the study of Natural History". However, even though he accepted the basics of Reid's depiction of human nature, there was room for disagreement over specifics, as can be seen in Robison's insistence in his annotations to pages 132, 299, and 414 of the

Essays on the Active Powers, that notwithstanding Reid's claim to the contrary, some animals possess a rudimentary sense of duty or propriety, which implies that Robison believed that they are in some sense moral beings like ourselves, even if they lack two key features of human nature, namely, free will and self-governance.[34]

Robison's interest in the many passages of the *Essays on the Active Powers* which highlight the providential design of human nature reflect his own religious and moral concerns, and these form a fifth area of overlap between the marginalia and the *Britannica* article. Elsewhere in his marginalia, Robison evinces the preoccupation with discovering evidence for God's design in nature which surfaces so conspicuously in the *Britannica* entry.[35] In Robison's copy of the *Essays on the Active Powers*, for example, he annotates a passage on page 54 where Reid reflects on God's providential dispensation for humankind as evidenced by our need to cultivate the earth in order to satisfy our basic wants, and on page 49 of his copy of the *Essays on the Intellectual Powers* Robison qualifies Reid's condemnation of the use of hypotheses in anatomy by noting, that regardless of their truth or falsity, the conjectures of anatomists are all based on the recognition that structure is always related to function, which he says illustrates the fact that "Nature has unquestionable Aims". Taken in conjunction with the remark on prayer quoted above, Robison's marginalia related to design show, therefore, that his reading of, and response to, Reid's texts were shaped by his religious outlook.

Furthermore, some of Robison's annotations point to his interest in practical morality and moral theory. It is suggestive for instance that on page 279 of the *Essays on the Intellectual Powers* he inserted a marginal mark beside a sentence in which Reid censures the pursuit of pleasure, while on page 248 of the *Essays on the Active Powers* he supplies a Biblical quotation alluded to in Reid's discussion of the satisfaction we derive from good conduct. Then, on page 320, a paragraph detailing the capacity of "a Canadian savage" to maintain self-control in the face of torture and death, elicits the observation from Robison, "Should this not put to shame all those among us who excuse themselves by the strength of temptation?". As far as the theory of morals is concerned, Robison's marginalia on pages 312 and 313 of Reid's *Essays on the Active Powers* show that like Reid he opposed necessitarianism on the grounds that it failed to make sense of human behaviour and that it was inconsistent with "our consciousness of our own moral liberty". Moreover, in his annotations Robison maintained that morality was, at least in part, an empirical science akin to natural

CHAP. II.

places in government, titles of honour, riches, wiſdom, eloquence, virtue, and even the reputation of theſe. All theſe are either different ſpecies of power, or means of acquiring it; and when they are ſought for that end, muſt be conſidered as inſtances of the deſire of power.

The deſire of eſteem is not peculiar to man. A dog exults in the approbation and applauſe of his maſter, and is humbled by his diſpleaſure. But in man this deſire is much more conſpicuous, and operates in a thouſand different ways.

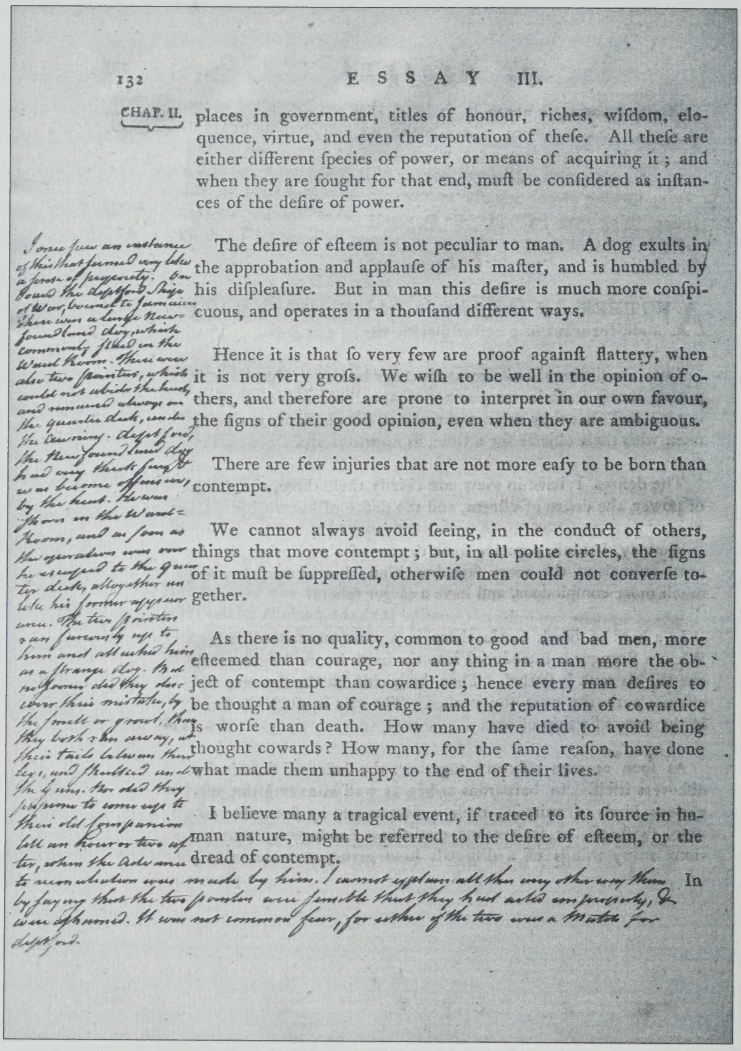
Hence it is that ſo very few are proof againſt flattery, when it is not very groſs. We wiſh to be well in the opinion of others, and therefore are prone to interpret in our own favour, the ſigns of their good opinion, even when they are ambiguous.

There are few injuries that are not more eaſy to be born than contempt.

We cannot always avoid ſeeing, in the conduct of others, things that move contempt; but, in all polite circles, the ſigns of it muſt be ſuppreſſed, otherwiſe men could not converſe together.

As there is no quality, common to good and bad men, more eſteemed than courage, nor any thing in a man more the object of contempt than cowardice; hence every man deſires to be thought a man of courage; and the reputation of cowardice is worſe than death. How many have died to avoid being thought cowards? How many, for the ſame reaſon, have done what made them unhappy to the end of their lives.

I believe many a tragical event, if traced to its ſource in human nature, might be referred to the deſire of eſteem, or the dread of contempt.



John Robison's annotations in his copy of Reid's *Essays on the Active Powers of Man.* Edinburgh, 1788.

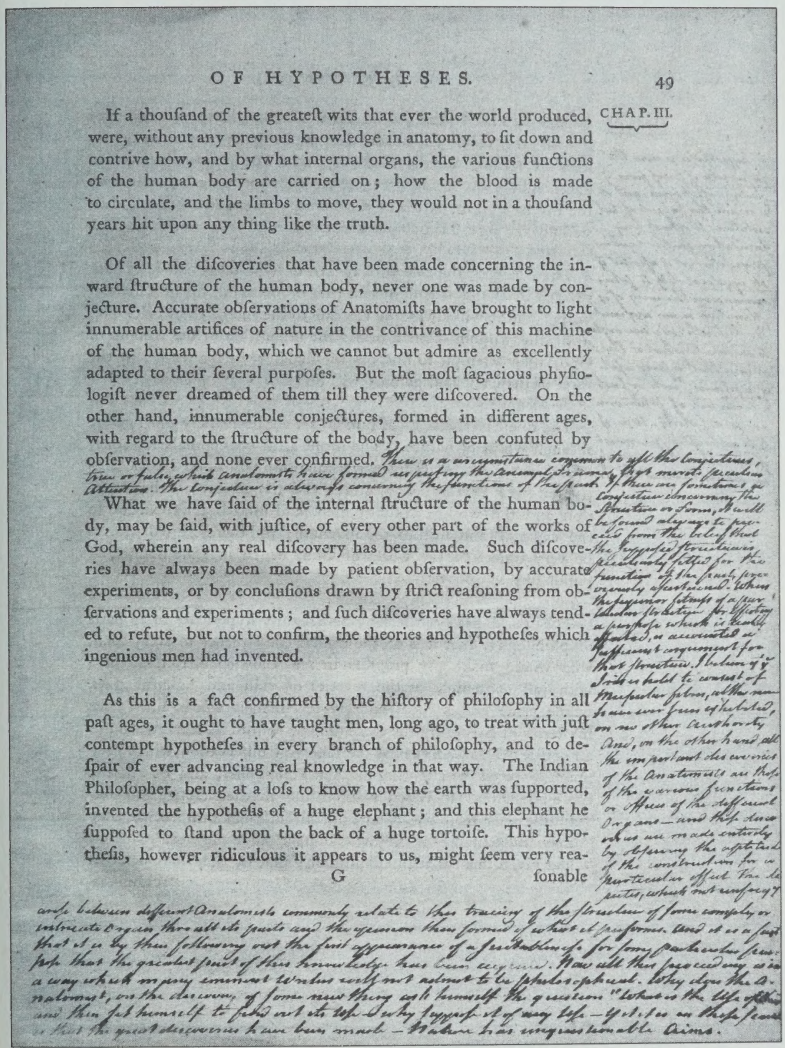
CHAP. III.

If a thousand of the greatest wits that ever the world produced, were, without any previous knowledge in anatomy, to sit down and contrive how, and by what internal organs, the various functions of the human body are carried on; how the blood is made to circulate, and the limbs to move, they would not in a thousand years hit upon any thing like the truth.

Of all the discoveries that have been made concerning the inward structure of the human body, never one was made by conjecture. Accurate observations of Anatomists have brought to light innumerable artifices of nature in the contrivance of this machine of the human body, which we cannot but admire as excellently adapted to their several purposes. But the most sagacious physiologist never dreamed of them till they were discovered. On the other hand, innumerable conjectures, formed in different ages, with regard to the structure of the body, have been confuted by observation, and none ever confirmed.

What we have said of the internal structure of the human body, may be said, with justice, of every other part of the works of God, wherein any real discovery has been made. Such discoveries have always been made by patient observation, by accurate experiments, or by conclusions drawn by strict reasoning from observations and experiments; and such discoveries have always tended to refute, but not to confirm, the theories and hypotheses which ingenious men had invented.

As this is a fact confirmed by the history of philosophy in all past ages, it ought to have taught men, long ago, to treat with just contempt hypotheses in every branch of philosophy, and to despair of ever advancing real knowledge in that way. The Indian Philosopher, being at a loss to know how the earth was supported, invented the hypothesis of a huge elephant; and this elephant he supposed to stand upon the back of a huge tortoise. This hypothesis, however ridiculous it appears to us, might seem very rea-



Robison's annotations in his copy of Reid's *Essays on the Intellectual Powers of Man*. Edinburgh, 1785.

philosophy. Alongside a paragraph on page 396 of the *Essays on the Active Powers*, wherein Reid argues that we should ignore theories of morality if they conflict with widely accepted practical rules of morals, Robison writes:

> Most assuredly, the Rules of practical Morality, if agreed on by Mankind, are the expressions of the general sentiments on those subjects. Therefore they express those general Laws of moral Sentiments to which the philosopher must appeal as his Authority for inferring the Nature of any moral faculty. They are the phaenomena from which we are to infer the Causes.

Robison here speaks with the voice of the enlightened moralist, and this marginal note well illustrates the engagement with moral philosophy and religion to be found in his extensive marginalia to Reid's two volumes of *Essays*.

CONCLUSION

By way of conclusion, we should briefly consider what Robison's marginalia tell us about his intellectual outlook and his reading habits. Clearly, Robison was not an uninformed reader of Reid's texts. Reid apparently had a profound impact on Robison while the two of them were colleagues in the 1760s, and it seems they enjoyed a reasonably close friendship after Robison's return to Scotland in 1774. Consequently, Robison read Reid's two *Essays* as a convert to common sense philosophy, and his marginal notes attest to the various ways in which Reid's writings intersected with Robison's own line on an interlocking set of issues in religion, morals, natural philosophy, and epistemology. Robison did not agree with every detail of Reid's work, but there is little doubt that he looked to Reid for answers to the philosophical problems that troubled him. Turning to the question of what the annotations tell us about Robison's reading practices, the fact that Reid was in some sense Robison's mentor in philosophy helps to explain one basic point about the marginalia: namely, that Robison was an active reader, responding to author and text through notes and marginal signs. Arguably, reading Reid's works for Robison was akin to a conversation or debate about major themes in metaphysics and moral philosophy. The annotations also indicate that Robison was an intensive reader, and that the intensive reading of philosophical texts was, for Robison at least, never far removed from his religious concerns. Furthermore, Robison

may have read Reid's *Essays* partly for pragmatic reasons. It is possible that Robison was prompted to work through the two *Essays* because he was preparing to compose his *Britannica* article on philosophy, and that he made his annotations in the course of doing so. Although there is no direct evidence to corroborate this suggestion, the overlap between the article and the marginalia detailed above points to some kind of connection between them. Lastly, one wonders if Robison penned his marginalia with one eye on posterity. Certainly his elaborate story about the dog Deptford recorded in the *Essays on the Active Powers* might be taken to imply that Robison was not writing his notes for himself alone, and it would seem from the additional marginalia in another unidentified nineteenth-century hand that at least one other reader had privileged access to Robison's reflections on Reid. Thanks to the survival of John Robison's copies of Reid's two *Essays* in the collection of the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, we, too, can now enter into the conversation initiated by Robison just over two centuries ago, and learn something of what was involved in reading a book in the twilight of the Scottish Enlightenment.

NOTES

1 Robert Darnton, "What is the History of Books?", in *The Kiss of Lamourette: Reflections in Cultural History* (New York and London, 1990), 122. On the study of the history of reading, see also Darnton's 1986 essay, "First Steps toward a History of Reading", reprinted in the same volume. For a more recent and in some ways more suggestive overview of the subject see Roger Chartier, *The Order of Books*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Cambridge, 1994), 1-23.

2 Carlo Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller*, trans. John and Anne Tedeschi (London and Henley, 1980); Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton, "'Studied for Action': How Gabriel Harvey read His Livy", *Past and Present* 129 (1990): 30-79; Robert Darnton, "Readers Respond to Rousseau: The Fabrication of Romantic Sensitivity", in *The Great Cat Massacre and other Episodes in French Cultural History* (New York, 1984), 215-56. Darnton returned to the question of reader response in chapter 9 of *The Forbidden Best-Sellers of Pre-Revolutionary France* (New York and London, 1995), but his discussion might be said to exemplify the inconclusiveness of much of what has been written about the history of reading.

3 Richard Olson, *Scottish Philosophy and British Physics, 1750-1880: a Study in the Foundations of the Victorian Scientific Style* (Princeton, NJ, 1975), 159.

4 The biographical information contained in this section is based on my current research for an intellectual biography of Reid entitled *The Culture of the Mind: Thomas Reid (1710-1796) and the Scottish Enlightenment.*

5 On Reid's library see Iain Beavan, "'The Best Library that ever the North Pairtes of

Scotland Saw': Thomas Reid (Latin Secretary to James VI) and his Books", in *The Reach of Print*, ed. P. Isaac and B. McKay (Winchester, UK, 1998), 205-20.

6 Unlike a professor, who was only expected to teach his assigned specialism, a regent taught the whole of the three-year philosophy curriculum and thus covered logic, metaphysics, moral philosophy, natural philosophy and, in some instances, mathematics.

7 I have discussed Turnbull's role in the formation of the Scottish Enlightenment in "Science and the Pursuit of Virtue in the Aberdeen Enlightenment", in *Studies in the Philosophy of the Scottish Enlightenment*, ed. M.A. Stewart (Oxford, 1990), 127-49, and *The Aberdeen Enlightenment: the Arts Curriculum in the Eighteenth Century* (Aberdeen, 1993), 40-49.

8 Aberdeen University Library (hereafter AUL), MSS 2131/5/II/1 and 2131/7/III/15.

9 AUL MSS 2131/3/II/7, 2131/6/I/17, and 2131/7/V/6.

10 Thomas Reid to David Hume, 18 March 1763, National Library of Scotland, MS 23157, letter 3.

11 I have described the genesis of the *Inquiry* in my editorial introduction to Thomas Reid, *An Inquiry into the Human Mind, on the Principles of Common Sense*, 4th ed. (1785; reprinted Bristol, 1990).

12 On Reid's election see my "'The Fittest Man in the Kingdom': Thomas Reid and the Glasgow Chair of Moral Philosophy", *Hume Studies* 23 (1997): 277-313.

13 The phrase was coined by David Hume; see Hume to Francis Hutcheson, 17 September 1739, in *The Letters of David Hume*, ed. J.Y.T. Greig, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1969), 1:32.

14 Wood, "Fittest Man", 294.

15 On Reid's relationship with Millar see John Craig, "An Account of the Life and Writings of [John Millar]", in John Millar, *The Origin and Distinction of Ranks, or, An Inquiry into the Circumstances which Give Rise to Influence and Authority, in the Different Members of Society*, 4th ed. (1806; reprinted Bristol, 1990), lxi-lxii.

16 *Glasgow Courier*, no. 800 (8 October 1796).

17 The biographical information on Robison contained in this section is derived from my forthcoming entry on him in the *New Dictionary of National Biography*, to be published by Oxford University Press. The standard source for his life hitherto has been John Playfair, "Biographical Account of the Late John Robison, LL.D. F.R.S. Edin. and Professor of Natural Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh", *Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh* 7 (1815): 495-539.

18 *The Universal Magazine of Knowledge and Pleasure* 21 (1757): 229-31.

19 See Reid to David Skene, 13 July 1765 and 20-30 December 1765, in *The Works of Thomas Reid, D.D.*, ed. Sir William Hamilton, 4th ed. (Edinburgh and London, 1854), 41-43.

20 Playfair, "Biographical Account", 314.

21 Robison's financial worries became more acute in the late 1790s, as his correspondence with the Secretary of War, William Windham, shows. For Robison's letters to Windham, see volume 74 of the Windham Papers, British Library, Additional Manuscript 37,915.

22 See J. R. R. Christie, "Joseph Black and John Robison", in *Joseph Black, 1728-1799: a Commemorative Symposium*, ed. A.D.C. Simpson (Edinburgh, 1982), 47-52.

23 John Robison, *Proofs of a Conspiracy against all the Religions and Governments of Europe, carried on in the Secret Meetings of Free Masons, Illuminati, and Reading Societies*, 2nd ed. (London, 1797), 41, 53-4, 231-3, 249, 430, 443, 452, 481-6, 519-20, 524-30; the quote occurs on pp. 482-3.

24 We know that Robison had read the *Essays on the Intellectual Powers* before 1797, because he cites the work in his *Encyclopædia Britannica* article on philosophy published in that year.

25 [John Robison], "Philosophy", in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 3rd ed. (Edinburgh, 1797), 14:583-7, 590-1. Robison's use of arguments based on the structure of language in this article is foreshadowed in his annotations to pages 47 and 521 of Reid's *Essays on the Intellectual Powers*.

26 Robison, "Philosophy", 583. As his annotation to page 281 of the *Essays on the Intellectual Powers* makes clear, Robison also agreed with Berkeley and Reid that the sense of touch is the most reliable guide to the nature of reality.

27 Robison also annotated a paragraph on page 209 and bracketed a passage on 215 related to the use of spatial language in the analysis of perception.

28 Robison, "Philosophy", 585, 592; Robison's annotations to Reid, *Essays on the Intellectual Powers*, 114, 204, 660.

29 Robison, "Philosophy", 597-8.

30 Robison, "Philosophy", 594-5.

31 Robison, "Philosophy", 593. The wording of Robison's comments on what it is to account for a phenomena on page 113 of the *Essays on the Intellectual Powers* is also virtually the same as that found on page 590 of his *Encyclopædia Britannica* article.

30 Robison, "Philosophy", 599.

32 Compare Robison, "Philosophy", 599.

33 On the question of self-governance see Robison's annotation to page 130 of the *Essays on the Active Powers*: "Bees, brought into a warm room in the Spring, eat up all their honey in two or three days. It appears therefore that their parsimony during winter is owing to torpor, not to self government". Robison's also picked out a passage on page 68 of the *Essays on the Active Powers* where Reid states that madmen lack the power of self-government, and hence cannot be held to be morally responsible for their actions.

34 Robison, "Philosophy", 599-600.

Items Displayed in the Exhibition

Cases 1-2: The Library of Archibald Campbell, Third Duke of Argyll

CASE ONE

1 Philip Miller. ***The Gardeners Dictionary***. The fourth edition, corrected. London: Printed for the author; and sold by J. Rivington, 1743. 2 vols.

At the time of his death, the Duke of Argyll possessed at Whitton House one of the finest gardens in Britain. Philip Miller, whose *Gardeners Dictionary* was the most popular horticultural book of the century, was a personal friend of Argyll, to whom he sent gifts of exotic plants. Fisher's copy of the *Dictionary* is a mixed set, vol. 2 being of the second edition, with the imprint: London: Printed for the author; and sold by Charles Rivington, 1740.

2 John Law. ***Money and Trade Consider'd; with a Proposal for Supplying the Nation with Money***. The second edition. London: Printed for W. Lewis, 1720.

A protégé of the Duke's, Law shared Argyll's interests in banking, finance, and mathematics. His book is the outcome of the support by the Duke, as Lord Treasurer of Scotland in 1705, for a plan to improve the Scottish economy.

3 Archibald Pitcairne. ***Opera omnia, duobus tomis comprehensa***. Editio nova. Hagæ Comitum: Apud Henricum Scheurleer, 1722.

Wit, Jacobite, and the most distinguished medical theorist and teacher of late seventeenth-century Scotland, Archibald Pitcairne was appointed Professor at Edinburgh University in 1685. When the school failed in 1690 he taught briefly at Leyden. This medical classic of iatromechanism would have formed part of the library of any up-to-date physician of the period.

4 Apollonius, of Perga. ***Apollonii Pergæi Locorum planorum libri II.*** Restituti a Roberto Simson. Glasguæ: In ædibus academicis, excudebant Rob. et And. Foulis, 1749.

Robert Simson's *Sectionum conicarum libri quinque* (1735) was dedicated to the Duke, with whom he used to discuss mathematics. One of the Duke's political agents at the University of Glasgow, Professor Simson was renowned for his attempts to reconstruct the works of the ancient geometer, Apollonius of Perga.

5 Archibald Campbell, Duke of Argyll. ***Catalogus librorum A.C.D.A.*** Glasguæ: In ædibus academicis, excudebant Robertus et Andreas Foulis, 1758.

All that is left of the Duke's splendid library, which was destroyed by fire in the early part of the nineteenth century, is this record of its holdings. The catalogue reflects the Duke's discerning taste and intelligence, as well as the size of his income.

6 Petrus van Musschenbroek. ***Institutiones physicæ conscriptæ in usus academicos***. Lugduni Batavorum: Apud Samuelem Luchtmans et filium, 1748.

This work by a distinguished Dutch Newtonian experimentalist speculated about the nature of heat, electricity and magnetism, all of which the more orthodox Newtonians regarded as the results of forces, not as the properties or potential properties of material bodies.

7 Baron Philipp von Stosch. ***Pierres antiques gravées, sur lesquelles les graveurs ont mis leur noms***. Dessinées & gravées en cuivre sur les originaux ou d'après les empreintes, par Bernard Picart. A Amsterdam: Chez Bernard Picart, le romain, 1724.

British spy, thief, and reputed atheist, Stosch was also a cosmopolitan intellectual and prominent antiquarian with an expert knowledge of coins, gems, and medals - all of which were collected by the Duke. The two men may have done business together, as Stosch was asked to supply the Duke with a special breed of Maltese cat.

8 Pierre Bayle. ***Nouvelles de la republique des lettres. Mois de mars*** 1684. Seconde edition revûë & corrigée par l'auteur. A Amsterdam: Chez Henry Desbordes, 1686.

Argyll was an avid reader of periodicals from Holland, France, Italy, and England. He possessed other works by Bayle, and was interested in the sceptics, as well as those who defended toleration and made morality the test of good religion.

9 Richard Simon. ***Histoire critique du Vieux Testament.*** A Rotterdam: Chez Reinier Leers, 1685.

Simon's commentary on the Old Testament affirmed a perverse Roman Catholic orthodoxy, while providing ammunition to free-thinkers who found it difficult to believe in revealed knowledge.

10 Sir Edward Coke. ***The First Part of the Institutes of the Laws of England***. The eighth edition carefully corrected. London: Printed for the Society of Stationers, 1670.

In fulfilling his political and judicial responsibilities as a peer of the realm, the Duke made great use of this basic reference book in English common law. Comparable volumes in his library dealt with the laws of other countries and traditions, particularly with Roman law and those systems based on it.

11 Sir Isaac Newton. ***The Chronology of Ancient Kingdoms Amended.*** London: Printed for J. Tonson, and J. Osborn and T. Longman, 1728.

Argyll's interest in time and its measurement was not confined to physics and instruments. He possessed several books on dating systems and chronologies. Part of their interest for him, as for others, lay in the problems which discrepancies between various calendars posed for Christian accounts of history.

12 Niccolo Machiavelli. ***Tutte le opere.*** [Geneva?: P. Choet or P. Aubert?] 1550 [i.e. ca. 1645]

Argyll had a particular penchant for republican writers, secular-minded historians, and politicians with classical leanings. He was also a keen theatre-goer, and would have found much to enjoy and ponder in these works.

13 David Hume. ***Political Discourses***. Edinburgh: Printed by R. Fleming, for A. Kincaid and A. Donaldson, 1752.

Although Argyll and Hume disagreed on many points, they shared common interests in banking, commerce, and politics. As with many books in the Duke's library, a copy of this work was presented by the author who had sought his patronage.

14 Titus Lucretius Carus. ***De rerum natura.*** Venetiis: In ædibus Aldi, et Andreæ Soceri, 1515.

A keen reader of Latin poetry all his life, the Duke would have found in Lucretius a religious sentiment with which he could sympathize, a fascinating view of the cosmos, and an Epicurean appreciation of life to which he could relate.

CASE THREE

15 Robert Henry. ***History of Great Britain, from the First Invasion of it by the Romans under Julius Cæsar***. London: Printed for the author, and sold by T. Cadell, 1771-1793. 6 vols.

Henry's *History* followed a "new plan", consisting of chronological volumes that were each divided into seven thematic parts. Henry completed five quarto volumes before his death in 1790; Malcolm Laing edited a posthumous sixth volume in 1793.

16 David Hume. ***History of England, from the Invasion of Julius Cæsar, to the Revolution in*** 1688. A new edition, corrected. London: Printed for T. Cadell (successor to A. Millar), 1770. 8 vols.

Hume's *History of England* originally appeared between 1754 and 1762. By the time this quarto edition appeared in 1770, the work was sufficiently well established for the publisher to insert a portrait of the author as a frontispiece.

17 Robert Watson. ***History of the Reign of Philip the Second, King of Spain***. London: Printed for W. Strahan; and T. Cadell; and J. Balfour, and W. Creech, Edinburgh, 1777-1783. 3 vols.

Watson modelled his history of Philip II on William Robertson's successful *History of the Reign of the Emperor Charles V* (1769). It, too, sold well, but Watson died before completing the sequel on the reign of Philip III.

18 William Robertson. ***History of America***. London: Printed for W. Strahan; T. Cadell; and J. Balfour, Edinburgh, 1777. 2 vols.

The most successful of the Scottish historians, William Robertson focused on Spanish exploration and settlement in his *History of America*. Although he never completed his planned volumes on British America, a posthumous volume on that subject was published by his son in 1796.

19 Adam Ferguson. ***An Essay on the History of Civil Society***. Edinburgh: Printed for A. Millar & T. Caddel [sic], London, and A. Kincaid & J. Bell, Edinburgh, 1767.

In his *Essay*, Ferguson exemplifies the Scottish Enlightenment's characteristic concern with the progress of society through a series of regular, comprehensive stages, in this case savagery, barbarism, and civil society.

20 Marcus Aurelius Antoninus. ***The Meditations of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus***. Glasgow: Printed by Robert Foulis; and sold by him, by Mess. Hamilton and Balfour, in Edinburgh; and by Andrew Millar, London, 1742.

This 1742 edition of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus' *Meditations* was translated and annotated by Francis Hutcheson and James Moor, two mainstays of the Glasgow Enlightenment. It was printed and published by Robert and Andrew Foulis in an affordable "pocket book" (duodecimo) format.

21 Henry Home, Lord Kames. ***Sketches of the History of Man***. Edinburgh: Printed for W. Creech; and for W. Strahan and T. Cadell, London, 1774. 2 vols.

In tracing "the progress of women, from their low state in savage tribes, to their elevated state in civilized nations", Lord Kames's *Sketches* illustrate two favourite themes of the Scottish Enlightenment: the progress of society, and the progress of women.

22 William Robertson. ***Memorial Relating to the University of Edinburgh***. Edinburgh: Printed by Balfour, Auld, and Smellie, 1768.

In January 1768 this *Memorial* appeared as an anonymous quarto pamphlet, distributed gratis, in an unsuccessful effort to generate support for a subscription drive to rebuild the dilapidated college. The author was probably Principal William Robertson.

23 William Lewis. ***The Edinburgh New Dispensatory***. The third American from the fourth Edinburgh edition. Walpole, New Hampshire: Printed by D. Carlisle jun. for Thomas & Andrews in Boston, and Isaiah Thomas in Worcester, 1796.

The Edinburgh New Dispensatory, first published under that title in 1786, rapidly became the standard pharmaceutical reference book in the United States, as well as in Great Britain. Isaiah Thomas's 1796 edition followed the 1794 fourth Edinburgh edition, edited by John Rotheram, with a new dedication to Joseph Black.

24 Sir John Sinclair. ***Specimen of the Statistical Account of Scotland***. Edinburgh, 1791.

Sir John Sinclair's *Specimen* was published in 1791 in order to promote the author's monumental survey of life in all the parishes of Scotland, which appeared in twenty-one volumes between 1791 and 1799.

25 Andrew Duncan. ***Observations on a Proposal for Establishing at Edinburgh a Public Dispensary for the Relief of the Poor, when Subjected to Chronical or Tedious Diseases***. Edinburgh, 1777.

Andrew Duncan published this pamphlet to promote his pet scheme - the provision of a dispensary for the poor of Edinburgh. It is a telling illustration of the politics of medicine in the Scottish Enlightenment.

26 Andrew Duncan. ***Medical Cases, Selected from the Records of the Public Dispensary at Edinburgh***. The second edition. Edinburgh: Printed for C. Elliot; sold by C. Dilly, London. 1781.

Originally published in 1778, with a long dedication to the Whig advocate Henry Erskine, *Medical Cases* was written by Andrew Duncan to promote the Edinburgh Public Dispensary. The second edition of 1781 added a biography of Alexander Monro, who is presented as a model medical philanthropist.

27 William Buchan. ***Domestic Medicine, or, The Family Physician.*** Edinburgh: Printed by Balfour, Auld, and Smellie, 1769.

"Most men may enjoy health if they will", asserted the Scottish physician William Buchan in this first edition of *Domestic Medicine*, published in Edinburgh by subscription in 1769, in an effort to promote the practice of simple medical care in the home.

28 William Buchan. ***Domestic Medicine, or, A Treatise on the Prevention and Cure of Diseases.*** The thirteenth edition. London: Printed for A. Strahan; T. Cadell; and J. Balfour, and W. Creech, at Edinburgh, 1792.

*Domestic Medicin*e was so popular, that by 1792 it had reached a thirteenth edition, which included a new chapter on cold bathing, an appendix, a glossary, an index, new footnotes, and much other material that had been added since the original appearance of the book

29 James Macpherson. ***Fragments of Ancient Poetry, Collected in the Highlands of Scotland, and Translated from the Galic or Erse Language.*** Edinburgh: Printed for G. Hamilton and J. Balfour, 1760.

The appearance in Edinburgh in June 1760 of this unassuming little volume marked the beginning of the Ossian phenomenon. The book included fifteen short poems, and a preface written by Hugh Blair.

30 James Macpherson. ***Fingal, an Ancient Epic Poem, in Six Books: Together with Several Other Poems, Composed by Ossian, the Son of Fingal.*** Translated from the Galic Language. The second edition. London: Printed for T. Becket and P.A. De Hondt, 1762.

31 James Macpherson. ***Temora, an Ancient Epic Poem, in Eight Books: Together with Several Other Poems, Composed by***

Ossian, the Son of Fingal. Translated from the Galic Language. London: Printed for T. Becket and P.A. De Hondt, 1763.

With *Fingal* in December 1761, and *Temora* in 1763, both published as handsome quarto volumes, James Macpherson and the Scottish literati who supported him, announced to the world that the legendary Gaelic bard known as Ossian was the author not merely of poetic "fragments", but also of fully fledged epics, comparable to those of Homer and the classical European world. This copy of *Fingal* belonged to Lord Kames, who defended its authenticity in his *Sketches of the History of Man*.

32 James Macpherson. ***Morison's Edition of the Poems of Ossian, the Son of Fingal***. Perth: Printed by R. Morison junior, for R. Morison & Son, 1795. 2 vols.

The Morison family dominated publishing in Perth during the second half of the eighteenth century. This edition from 1795 featured self-proclaimed "elegant engravings", one of which is displayed here from the second volume of the work.

33 Hugh Blair. "A Critical Dissertation on the Poems of Ossian, the Son of Fingal": in v. 2 of James Macpherson, ***The Works of Ossian, the Son of Fingal***. The third edition. London: Printed for T. Becket and P.A. De Hondt, 1765.

This 1765 collected works of Ossian was the first attempt to repackage Ossian in a single two-volume work, using an affordable octavo format, with supporting commentary. Hugh Blair's "Critical Dissertation" sought to place Ossian's poetry within a social and geographic context, in characteristically Scottish style.

34 James Macpherson. ***The Poems of Ossian, the Son of Fingal***. A new edition, carefully corrected, and greatly improved. Edinburgh: Printed for J. Robertson, 1792.

In 1792 the Edinburgh printer-bookseller James Robertson justified his one-volume octavo edition of *The Poems of Ossian*, on the grounds that it was not only "carefully corrected, and greatly improved", but also sold at "half its former price".

35 James Macpherson. ***The Poems of Ossian, the Son of Fingal.*** Imray's edition. Glasgow: Printed by Chapman and Lang, for J. Imray, 1799. 2 vols.

Most editions of the *Poems of Ossian* were in octavo, but in 1799 James Imray of Glasgow produced a two-volume duodecimo "pocket edition", which represented the final stage in the evolution of the Ossianic epics from grand quarto to popular, affordable reading material.

36 David Hume. ***Essays and Treatises on Several Subjects.*** A new edition. London: Printed for A. Millar; and A. Kincaid and A. Donaldson, at Edinburgh, 1758.

37 David Hume. ***Essays and Treatises on Several Subjects.*** A new edition. London: Printed for A. Millar; and A. Kincaid and A. Donaldson, at Edinburgh, 1760. 4 vols.

38 David Hume. ***Essays and Treatises on Several Subjects.*** A new edition. London: Printed for A. Millar, A. Kincaid, J. Bell, and A. Donaldson, at Edinburgh; and sold by T. Cadell, 1768. 2 vols.

Hume's *Essays and Treatises* were available in several different formats during the eighteenth century, to suit various classes of readers. Displayed here are a one-volume quarto edition of 1758, a four-volume duodecimo edition of 1760, and a two-volume quarto from 1768.

CASE FIVE

39 Hugo Arnot. ***A Collection and Abridgement of Celebrated Criminal Trials in Scotland, from A.D.*** 1536, *to* 1784. Edinburgh: printed for the author; by William Smellie, 1785.

William Smellie met Arnot through Gilbert Stuart, and the three men wrote a number of political pamphlets attacking local authorities. Smellie issued the first edition of *Celebrated Criminal Trials* under his own imprint, and it inspired him to write his own work on the responsibilities of juries in Scotland. Both Arnot and Smellie were critical of the role of judges in Scottish trials, despite their close friendship with Lords Kames and Hailes.

40 Hugo Arnot. ***History of Edinburgh***. Edinburgh: Printed for W. Creech; and J. Murray, London, 1779.

Arnot was only the second historian of Edinburgh, being preceded by William Maitland in 1753. William Smellie was an apprentice corrector to the press when Maitland's book was printed by his master Patrick Neill for Hamilton and Balfour. Smellie also printed Arnot's volume, though his name does not appear in the imprint. Arnot's *History* was unusual in its emphasis on contemporary eighteenth-century Edinburgh, especially local politics, the university, and the high fliers. William Creech published another edition in 1788, after Arnot's premature death, and following the success of Alexander Kincaid's 1787 history of the Scottish capital.

41 ***The Lounger: a Periodical Paper, Published at Edinburgh in the Years*** 1785 ***and*** 1786. Nos. 1-101 (Feb. 5 1785 - Jan. 6 1787. Edinburgh: Printed for William Creech [1785-1787]

Edited by Henry Mackenzie, who was the chief contributor to the periodical along with other Edinburgh gentlemen and members of the Mirror Club, such as William, Lord Craig, *The Lounger* was far less successful than its predecessor *The Mirror*. Both periodicals were designed to emulate Addison's *The Spectator*, which had

a long reprint history and enjoyed much popularity in Edinburgh. But by the 1780s Edinburgh literary tastes were more Scottish than English. *The Lounger*, therefore, is now best remembered for Mackenzie's favourable review, in December 1786, of Robert Burns's Kilmarnock edition of *Poems, Chiefly in the Scottish Dialect*. The first review of Burns's poems, however, appeared in James Sibbald's *Edinburgh Magazine* in October 1786.

42 ***The Edinburgh Review***. Numb. I. Edinburgh: Printed for G. Hamilton and J. Balfour, 1755.

Published by Gavin Hamilton and John Balfour, the *Edinburgh Review* was printed by Patrick Neill at the time when William Smellie was his apprentice (1755-56). Among the contributors were William Robertson, Adam Smith, and Hugh Blair. Only two issues appeared before controversy halted publication. Yet despite its brief existence, by its tone and its emphasis on Scottish writing, the periodical inspired the critical approach of Smellie and Gilbert Stuart in their *Edinburgh Magazine and Review*. Adam Smith's review of Samuel Johnson's Dictionary in the first issue, and his "Letter to the Authors" in the second, are of particular interest.

43 ***The Bee, or, Literary Weekly Intelligencer***. Vol. 1. Edinburgh: Printed by Mundell and Son, 1791.

Edited by James Anderson, the economist and agrarian, *The Bee* included the Earl of Buchan among its many Whiggish contributors. It was a more politically critical periodical than Henry Mackenzie's *Mirror* and *Lounger*, but nothing like Smellie's and Stuart's *Edinburgh Magazine and Review*, although *The Bee* raised sufficient concerns to provoke government intervention. Running from Wednesday December 22 1790 to Wednesday January 21 1794, *The Bee* totalled 163 issues in eighteen volumes.

44 Sir David Dalrymple, Lord Hailes. ***Remarks on the History of Scotland***. Edinburgh: Printed by Balfour & Smellie, 1773.

The first edition of this work was not only printed by William Smellie and issued under his imprint, but there is also strong evidence to suggest that Smellie also edited the text substantially. Certainly, Smellie did all he could to encourage Dalrymple to contest contemporary views of Scottish history, and Smellie's

manuscripts include a note reminding himself to "get David to respond on Mary Queen of Scots", a major area of contention among the revisionists.

45 *A Collection of Original Poems*. By the Rev. Mr. Blacklock, and other Scotch Gentlemen. Edinburgh: Printed by A. Donaldson and J. Reid, for A. Donaldson; sold by R. and J. Dodsley, and J. Richardson, London, 1760-1762. 2 vols.

This collection of poems first brought the blind poet and scholar, Thomas Blacklock, to the attention of William Smellie, when the latter came across the book as editor of the *Scots Magazine*. Conceived along the lines of Tonson's miscellanies, three volumes of poems were projected, but only two were completed. Smellie enlisted Blacklock as a regular contributor to the *Edinburgh Magazine and Review*, where Blacklock published his famous essay "On the Education of the Blind".

46 Robert Burns. *Poems, Chiefly in the Scottish Dialect*. Edinburgh: Printed for the Author, and Sold by William Creech, 1787.

William Smellie met Burns while printing the Edinburgh edition of the poet's works in 1787. Both men were active freemasons, and Smellie introduced Burns to the Crochallan Fencibles, the club for which Burns wrote his notorious collection of obscene poems, "The Merry Muses of Caledonia". Both Smellie and Burns were further united in their financial battles with the publisher of the Edinburgh edition, the tight-fisted William Creech.

47 Terence. *Terentii Comœdiæ, ad fidem optimarum editionum expressæ*. Edinburgi: Apud Hamilton, Balfour, et Neill, 1758.

William Smellie was asked to produce this edition of Terence's comedies while an apprentice with Hamilton, Balfour, and Neill in 1758. The text received the Edinburgh Society Silver Medal for its elegant achievement in roman printing, one of the rare occasions when a firm other than the Foulis brothers of Glasgow was so honoured. This so called "perfect edition" established Smellie's reputation as Edinburgh's finest printer.

48 Charles Alston. ***Lectures on the Materia Medica***. Published ... by John Hope. London: Printed for Edward and Charles Dilly; and A. Kincaid and J. Bell, at Edinburgh, 1770. 2 vols.

John Hope is credited with editing the lectures of Charles Alston, his predecessor in the Chair of Botany at the University of Edinburgh, but he received considerable assistance from William Smellie, who was Hope's prize student, and who printed all of Hope's Latin works. Smellie used Alston extensively in his article on botany for the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (1768-71), especially Alston's opposition to Linnæus over the sexuality of plants.

49 ***A System of Anatomy: from Monro, Winslow, Innes, and the Latest Authors: Arranged ... in the Order of the Lectures Delivered by the Professor of Anatomy in the University of Edinburgh***. Edinburgh: Printed for C. Elliot; and G. Robinson, London, 1784. 2 vols.

The 1801 edition of this work was printed by Alexander Smellie, who succeeded his father in their Anchor Close firm. This volume is typical of the medical textbooks published by Charles Elliot. The editor claims that "of six or seven books ...all the parts from which [students] could derive any advantage are here compressed". John Rotheram was often enlisted to edit such books, while Smellie was a favourite printer of them because of his medical background.

50 William Smellie. ***The Philosophy of Natural History***. Edinburgh: Printed for the heirs of Charles Elliot; and C. Elliot and T. Kay, T. Cadell, and G.G.J. & J. Robinsons, London, 1790-1799. 2 vols

The writing of this work occupied Smellie for over twenty years, during which time he translated Buffon's *Natural History*. Charles Elliot agreed to pay £1000 for the copyright to volume one, but the work was delayed for two years in the press (1788-90) because Smellie was so distracted by other commitments. Upon publication, the work was widely reviewed, igniting much controversy over its treatment of the sexuality of plants.

Conceived for a wide readership, including women, volume two appeared posthumously in 1799, under the editorship of Alexander Smellie, and published by Bell & Bradfute.

51 Robert Hamilton. ***Tentamen inaugurale, De nicotianæ viribus in medicina; ut et de ejus malis effectibus in usu communi et domestico, examen ... pro gradu doctoratus***. Edinburgi: Apud Balfour et Smellie, 1780.

In a partnership with the bookseller John Balfour, William Smellie printed all the dissertations for the University of Edinburgh from 1766 until his death in 1795, with his son, Alexander, continuing thereafter. As in this thesis, Smellie frequently found his own work cited in the notes of dissertations by medical and law students. The printing of theses brought Smellie into close contact with many Edinburgh students, whose writings he would later edit or print, including Hugo Arnot and James Gregory.

52 William Cullen. ***First Lines of the Practice of Physic: for the Use of Students in the University of Edinburgh***. Edinburgh: Printed for William Creech [177-]

Perhaps the most popular and important medical book to be published in Edinburgh in the eighteenth century, Cullen's *First Lines* earned him £1200 from the bookseller Charles Elliot in an initial payment. Often revised, edited, and reprinted, the text passed through Smellie's printing house a number of times. Smellie also wrote the Preface for John Rotheram's edition of 1793.

53 James Hutton. "Of Certain Natural Appearances of the Ground on the Hill of Arthur's Seat". Reprinted from: ***Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh***. [Edinburgh, 1790]

First read before the Philosophical Society of Edinburgh (subsequently the Royal Society of Edinburgh) in June 1778, this paper was published in the second volume of the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh* in 1790, and as a pamphlet later that same year. Hutton and Smellie became friends as

members of the Philosophical Society, where Smellie advised Hutton on the botanical aspects of this paper, and on another paper also about Arthur's Seat.

54 George Campbell. ***A Dissertation on Miracles: Containing an Examination of the Principles Advanced by David Hume, Esq. in an Essay on Miracles***. Edinburgh: Printed for A. Kincaid & J. Bell; sold by A. Millar, R. & J. Dodsley, W. Johnston, R. Baldwin, and J. Richardson, London, 1762.

This book, which was in part a response to David Hume, was another of William Smellie's important sources for the first edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (1768-71). Smellie used an abridgment of Campbell among the advertisements for the encyclopædia as an indication of its commitment to contemporary and controversial Scottish sources. Campbell's arguments continued to play a part in Smellie's thinking as late as his second volume of *The Philosophy of Natural History* (1799).

55 Adam Ferguson. ***An Essay on the History of Civil Society***. The third edition, corrected. London: Printed for A. Millar and T. Cadell; and A. Kincaid and J. Bell, Edinburgh, 1768.

With this work, Ferguson transformed sociology into an academic and intellectual genre. The third edition was read and studied extensively by William Smellie, and was a major factor in directing him to a concept of the science of man that was social and psychological in its perspectives.

56 "Home", in v. 8 of ***Encyclopædia Britannica, or, A Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, and Miscellaneous Literature***. The third edition. Edinburgh: Printed for A. Bell and C. Macfarquhar, 1797.

As compiler, editor, and author of the first edition of the *Britannica*, Smellie often clashed with his employers, Bell and Macfarquhar. He was not offered the second edition, which was edited by the balloonist James Tytler. Smellie did contribute, however, the biography of Henry Home, Lord Kames, to the third edition. This version of the *Britannica* became an international success, and established a reputation that would endure through two hundred years, largely as a result of the business acumen of the bookseller Charles Elliot.

57 James Burnett, Lord Monboddo. ***Of the Origin and Progress of Language***. Edinburgh: Printed for A. Kincaid & W. Creech; and T. Cadell, London, 1773-1792. 6 vols.

In this work the classicly learned Lord Monboddo anticipated the Darwinian claim that apes were related to humans. The theory was taken out of context and caused Monboddo much grief. Although they were close friends, William Smellie helped lead the assault on Monboddo through his editorial partnership with Gilbert Stuart in the pages of the *Edinburgh Magazine and Review*, where reviews of Monboddo's book were so libellous in their abuse, that the periodical was forced to shut down as a result of withdrawn subscriptions.

CASE SEVEN

58 David Hume. ***A Treatise of Human Nature: Being an Attempt to Introduce the Experimental Method of Reasoning into Moral Subjects***. London: Printed for John Noon, 1739-1740. 3 vols.

For Reid, Hume's *Treatise* was the *reductio ad absurdum* of the theory of ideas. Reid nevertheless deeply respected Hume's abilities as a metaphysician, and in a letter to Hume declared that "I shall always avow my self your Disciple in Metaphysicks". Reid also endorsed Hume's view that natural philosophy, natural religion, mathematics, logic, criticism, politics, and morals were all founded on the science of human nature, and his lecture courses at Aberdeen and Glasgow were structured accordingly.

59 David Hume. ***An Abstract of a Book Lately Published; Entituled, A Treatise of Human Nature, &c.*** London: Printed for C. Borbet, 1740.

Hume published the *Abstract* in order to promote sales of his *Treatise*, which, as he later famously remarked, "fell dead-born from the Press". This pamphlet is now extremely rare. It disappeared from public view in the eighteenth century, and was rediscovered only in the 1930s by John Maynard Keynes.

60 David Hume. ***Philosophical Essays Concerning Human Understanding***. The second edition, with additions and corrections. London: Printed for A. Millar, 1750.

Because of his dissatisfaction with the style of the *Treatise*, Hume recast his material in the *Philosophical Essays*, and the *Enquiry Concerning the Principles of Morals*. Hume's formulation of necessitarianism in the *Essays* was a target for both Reid's *Essays on the Active Powers of Man* and James Gregory's *Philosophical and Literary Essays*.

61 George Turnbull. ***The Principles of Moral Philosophy: An***

Enquiry into the Wise and Good Government of the Moral World. London: Printed for John Noon, 1740.

Turnbull taught the young Thomas Reid at Marischal College Aberdeen from 1723 to 1726. Dismissed by Dugald Stewart as being of no philosophical or historical interest, Turnbull was in fact one of the first Scottish regents in the eighteenth century to recommend the use of the Newtonian method to study morals, and he seems to have had a lasting impact on Reid's thought. A prolific author, Turnbull never achieved the fame he sought after leaving Aberdeen in 1727. He died in obscurity in 1748.

62 Thomas Reid. ***An Inquiry into the Human Mind, on the Principles of Common Sense***. Edinburgh: Printed for A. Millar, London, and A. Kincaid and J. Bell, Edinburgh, 1764.

Based in part on discourses delivered to the Aberdeen Philosophical Society, the *Inquiry* was the most impressive critique of the theory of ideas to appear in the eighteenth century. Reid's case against "the ideal system" combined profound philosophical insight with telling empirical evidence drawn from anatomy, physiology, and the science of optics. Reid's use of the Newtonian method in the *Inquiry* also demonstrates that he took the methodological pronouncements of George Turnbull and David Hume to heart.

63 Thomas Reid. ***Essays on the Active Powers of Man***. Edinburgh: Printed for John Bell; and G.G.J. & J. Robinson, London, 1788.

The recipient of this author's presentation copy of the *Essays*, George Jardine, was the Glasgow Professor of Logic and Rhetoric from 1774 until his death in 1827. Jardine was deeply influenced by the philosophical doctrines of his older colleague, with whom he was on intimate terms. Jardine was later one of the sources of biographical information for Dugald Stewart's *Account of the Life and Writings of Thomas Reid* (1802).

64 Henry Home, Lord Kames. ***Elements of Criticism***. Edinburgh: Printed for A. Millar, London; and A. Kincaid & J. Bell, Edinburgh, 1762. 3 vols.

Lord Kames was one of Thomas Reid's most influential friends and patrons. Shortly after their first meeting in the early 1760s, they corresponded about some of Kames's proposed revisions to

the second edition of *Elements*, and Reid later referred to passages in *Elements* in his *Essays on the Active Powers of Man*.

65 Adam Smith. ***The Theory of Moral Sentiments***. London: Printed for A. Millar; and A. Kincaid and J. Bell, in Edinburgh, 1759.

Adam Smith was Thomas Reid's predecessor in the Chair of Moral Philosophy at Glasgow. Reid's extant manuscripts reveal that he read with great care various editions of Smith's *Theory*, for his notes on the first (1759) and sixth (1790) editions along with related material have survived. Although Reid once described Smith as "a man of ... great Genius and penetration", he wrote to Lord Kames that "I have always thought Dr. Smith's System of Sympathy wrong".

66 James Gregory. ***Philosophical and Literary Essays***. Edinburgh: Sold by T. Cadell, London, and W. Creech, Edinburgh, 1792. 2 vols.

James Gregory was a kinsman of Thomas Reid, and a close associate during Reid's later years. Like Reid, Gregory attacked the necessitarianism of Joseph Priestley and David Hume. Even though Reid was sympathetic to the main thrust of Gregory's *Essay* (which he read and criticized prior to its publication), he questioned Gregory's use of mathematical reasoning to demonstrate metaphysical propositions.

67 Richard Price. ***A Free Discussion of the Doctrines of Materialism, and Philosophical Necessity, in a Correspondence between Dr. Price, and Dr. Priestley***. London: Printed for J. Johnson, and T. Cadell, 1778.

While Richard Price and Joseph Priestley were personally close, they remained far apart philosophically. Thomas Reid corresponded with Price, and regarded him as an accomplished metaphysician. Reid sent presentation copies of both of his *Essays* to Price as a mark of his esteem.

68 George Berkeley. ***Three Dialogues between Hylas and Philonous***. London: Printed by G. James, for Henry Clements, 1713.

Although Reid's assertion that he once "embrace[d] the whole of Berkeley's system" should be treated with caution, there is little

doubt that he was deeply influenced by Berkeley's writings. This copy of *Three Dialogues* was once owned by Reid, and is one of the few books which can be identified as having been in his library. The identity of the other owner is uncertain. The William Ogilvie in question might have been the brother of Reid's patron Lord Deskford, or the Humanist at King's College Aberdeen, who was a friend of Reid's. The latter may have been given the book as a memento after Reid's death in 1796.

69 Sir Isaac Newton. ***Philosophiæ naturalis principia mathematica***. Editio secunda auctior et emendatior. Cantabrigiæ, 1713.

Scotland boasted a strong Newtonian tradition in the natural sciences throughout the eighteenth century. As heirs to that tradition, both Reid and Robison looked to Newton's *Principia* as a methodological exemplar. In their own researches the two men tried to emulate Newton's combination of strict mathematical reasoning with careful experimentation, and they followed Newton in condemning the use of hypotheses and conjectures in natural philosophy.

70 John Robison. ***Proofs of a Conspiracy against all the Religions and Governments of Europe, Carried on in the Secret Meetings of Free Masons, Illuminati, and Reading Societies***. The second edition, corrected. London: Printed for T. Cadell jun. and W. Davies; and W. Creech, Edinburgh, 1797.

Robison's *Proofs* was an extreme expression of the anti-Jacobinism which gripped Britain in the wake of the Terror in France. According to Robison, the revolutionary ferment in Europe was the work of a conspiracy of Freemasons, *illuminati*, and *philosophes*, who combined irreligion and philosophical heterodoxy with subversive political views. Like many of his reactionary contemporaries, Robison regarded Joseph Priestley with particular disdain; he linked Priestley's philosophical doctrines and political ideas with the subversive currents of thought that he believed had led to the French Revolution.

71 John Robison. "On the Motion of Light, as Affected by Refracting and Reflecting Substances, which are also in Motion", in ***Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh***, v. 2. Edinburgh: Printed for T. Cadell, London; and J. Dickson, Edinburgh, 1790.

Read to the Royal Society of Edinburgh in 1788, Robison's essay grew out of his engagement with Boscovich's works on optics, and discussions with the Glasgow astronomer Patrick Wilson. Boscovich had proposed a crucial experiment to test the rival

projectile and wave theories of light proposed by Newton and Euler respectively, but Robison discovered that Boscovich's reasoning was faulty. Robison sent Reid a copy of his essay for comment prior to its publication.

72 Thomas Reid. ***Essays on the Intellectual Powers of Man***. Edinburgh: Printed for John Bell; and G.G.J. & J. Robinson, London, 1785.

Dedicated to his Edinburgh protégés James Gregory and Dugald Stewart, Reid's first volume of essays derived from his lectures in Aberdeen and Glasgow, and from discourses he had delivered before the Glasgow Literary Society. Reid here elaborated on the philosophical principles he had outlined in the *Inquiry*, and delivered a withering attack on the use of hypotheses in the science of the mind, which he directed at the English philosopher David Hartley and, by implication, Hartley's champion Joseph Priestley. This copy of the *Essays* was owned and extensively annotated by Reid's associate John Robison.

73 Thomas Reid. ***Essays on the Active Powers of Man***. Edinburgh: Printed for John Bell; and G.G.J. & J. Robinson, London, 1788.

Reid's second volume of essays was likewise based on his lectures, and on papers he had read in Aberdeen and Glasgow. Here Reid took aim at the necessitarianism of such figures as Hume and Priestley, and argued that we do have the capacity to exercise free will in our actions. Moreover, Reid insisted against Hume that we have a limited conception of active power accompanied by a belief, rooted in our constitution, that we possess such a power. This copy of the second set of *Essays* was also owned and annotated by John Robison.

74 John Robison. "Impulsion", in v. 1 of ***Supplement to the Third Edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica, or, A Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, and Miscellaneous Literature***. Edinburgh: Printed for Thomson Bonar; by John Brown, 1801.

In this article on impulsion, Robison again discusses Boscovich's theory of matter in the course of a wide-ranging review of experimental data which Robison took to demonstrate that contact action between particles of matter was the exception rather than

the rule in the ordinary course of nature, and hence that ethereal media could not be invoked to explain such phenomena as gravitation and magnetism. Robison's comment that he had performed optical experiments with Reid attests to their long standing friendship, and to their common scientific interests.

75 Joseph Black. ***Lectures on the Elements of Chemistry, Delivered in the University of Edinburgh, by the late Joseph Black***. Now published from his Manuscripts, by John Robison. Edinburgh: Printed by Mundell and Son, for Longman and Rees, London, and William Creech, Edinburgh, 1803. 2 vols.

Robison first met Joseph Black in Glasgow in the 1750s, and was later Black's colleague at the University of Edinburgh. Robison agreed to edit the lectures of his deceased friend in 1799, at a time when he himself was in ill health. While labouring to put Black's notes into a coherent order, he struggled with his own deep disappointment with Black's lack of methodological sophistication and theoretical rigour. Robison was also annoyed by Black's deferential attitude towards Lavoisier, and in his editorial apparatus did his best to defend Black's stature as a chemist by denigrating French chemistry.

76 John Robison. ***A System of Mechanical Philosophy***. With notes, by David Brewster. Edinburgh: Printed for John Murray, London, 1822. 4 vols.

Edited by David Brewster, the *System* brought together all of Robison's contributions on scientific topics to the third edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. One of the most important of his articles was that devoted to the writings of the distinguished Jesuit natural philosopher Roger Joseph Boscovich, who had begun to catch the attention of Scottish men of science in the 1750s. Robison found Boscovich's ingenious theory of matter attractive, as it could be used to undermine mechanistic views of the natural order premised on the existence of ethereal fluids.

THE FOULIS PRESS

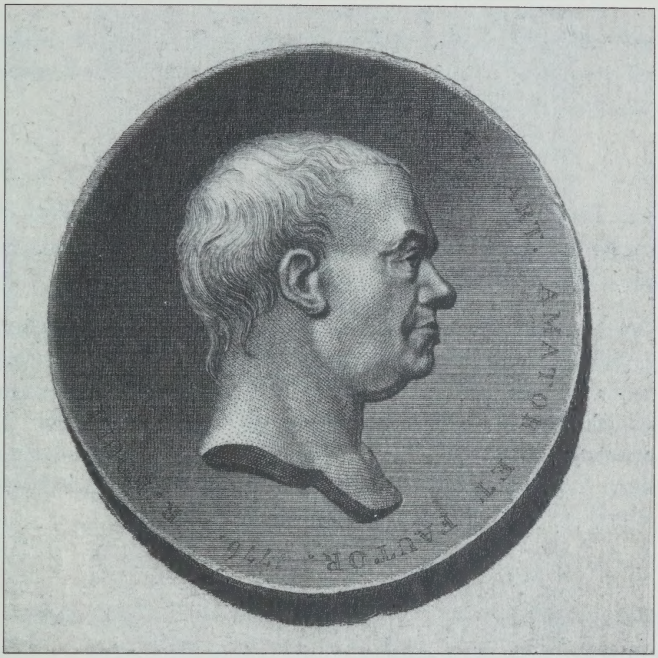
Between 1740 and 1800 the Foulis Press produced over seven hundred editions of books, ranging from mathematics and medicine to moral philosophy and poetry. Founded by Robert Foulis, who initially worked as a bookseller in the University of Glasgow, the Press established a reputation for finely printed scholarly editions of the classics, thanks to the efforts of Robert, his brother Andrew (who joined the firm in 1742), members of the University professoriate, and Alexander Wilson, who cast the distinctive type employed by the Press. During the middle decades of the eighteenth century, the Foulis Press flourished and contributed to the cultural efflorescence of the Glasgow Enlightenment. After the death of the two brothers, in 1775 and 1776, the financially troubled firm was taken over by Andrew Foulis, who was unable to restore the Press to its former glory.

77 Cicero. ***M. Tullii Ciceronos Opera quæ supersunt omnia***. Glasguæ: In ædibus academicis; excudebant Rob. et And. Foulis, 1749. 20 vols.

In February 1748 Robert and Andrew Foulis of Glasgow issued "Proposals for printing all Cicero's works in 20 vol. of a pocket size ... consistent with correctness". The edition itself began to appear shortly afterwards.

78 Sallust. ***C. Crispi Sallustii Opera quæ supersunt, omnia***. Ex recensione Gottlieb Cortil. Glasguæ: Excudebat Andreas Foulis, 1777.

This edition of Sallust illustrates the work of Andrew Foulis the younger, who took over the Press in 1776, following the death of his father, and his uncle, Robert. The copies on display are of considerable historical interest, because of their associations. One was owned by the Edinburgh Professor of Moral



James Tassie's portrait of Robert Foulis (1707-1776). (Reproduced in T.F. Dibdin, *A Bibliographical, Antiquarian and Picturesque Tour in the Northern Counties of England and in Scotland.* London, 1838.)

Philosophy, Dugald Stewart, and was given by him to his nephew through his first marriage to Helen Bannatyne. The second is a prize book given in honour of George Muirhead, who was William Richardson's predecessor as Professor of Humanity at the University of Glasgow.

79 Theophrastus. Θεοφραστου Χαρακτηρεζ ηθικοι = ***Theophrasti Characteres ethici***. Ex recensione Petri Needham, et versione Latina Isaaci Casauboni. Glasguæ: In ædibus academicis; excudebat Robertus Foulis, 1743.

Many of the Foulis editions of the classics reflect the teaching practices of the Glasgow professors. In his "private" lectures on moral philosophy, Francis Hutcheson spent most of his class time discussing moralists of classical antiquity, such as Theophrastus, whose concept of the culture of the soul was enthusiastically taken

up by Hutcheson and other eighteenth-century Scottish moral philosophers. The parallel Greek and Latin text was well suited to the needs of scholarship and pedagogy.

80 James Thomson. ***Indolence, and Lesser Poems. With Alfred, a Masque***. By Mr. Thomson and Mr. Mallet. Glasgow: Printed by Robert and Andrew Foulis, 1774.

Poetry figured with ever greater prominence in the lists of books published by the Foulis Press in the 1770s. From 1769 the Press issued a number of titles by James Thomson, whose reputation had already been established, and whose verse was used by academics throughout Scotland to inculcate proper standards of taste. The duodecimo format of this edition suggests that it was aimed at the student and popular markets.

81 Torquato Tasso. ***Aminta: Favola Boscareccia***. Glasgua: Della stampa di Roberto ed Andrea Foulis, 1753.

Torquato Tasso (1544-1595) was notorious in his own day, and a much admired author in the eighteenth century. The engravings in this edition of *Aminta* (one of which borders on the pornographic) illustrate the high standards of execution for which the Foulis Press was famed.

82 Francis Hutcheson. ***A Short Introduction to Moral Philosophy, in Three Books: Containing the Elements of Ethicks and the Law of Nature***. Translated from the Latin. Glasgow: Printed and sold by Robert Foulis, 1747.

Robert Foulis was a disciple of the Glasgow University moralist Francis Hutcheson, and published more editions of works by him than by any other author. The first English translation of Hutcheson's popular Latin compendium on moral philosophy appeared in 1747, the year after Hutcheson's death.

83 William Leechman. ***The Nature, Reasonableness, and Advantages, of Prayer***. Glasgow: Printed by Robert Foulis, and

Edward Topham's caricature of Andrew Foulis (1712-1775). (Reproduced in D. Murray, *Robert & Andrew Foulis and the Glasgow Press.* Glasgow, 1913.)

sold by him, at London by Andrew Millar; and by all the booksellers in Edinburgh, 1743.

William Leechman's sermon was branded heretical by the Presbytery of Glasgow, several months after its appearance in 1743, in an unsuccessful attempt to block Leechman's appointment to the Glasgow divinity chair. It remained a bestseller for the Foulis brothers, reaching a sixth edition in 1769.

84 ***Young Waters, an Ancient Scottish Poem***. Glasgow: printed and sold by Robert and Andrew Foulis, 1755.

Published in February 1755, *Young Waters* demonstrates that the interest in supposedly "ancient" Scottish poetry predates the Ossian craze of the 1760s.

85 Homer. Τηζ τοη Ομηροη Ιλιαδοζ ο τομοζ προτεροζ. Glasguæ: In ædibus academicis, excudebant Robertus et Andreas Foulis, 1756. 2 vols.

The award winning Homer of 1756 (*Iliad*) and 1758 (*Odyssey*), edited by the Glasgow professors James Moor and George Muirhead, were one of the Foulis brothers' greatest productions. Only 166 copies were printed in the large paper format, shown here. The Greek typeface, one of the most elegant ever produced, was cut by Alexander Wilson.

READING ROOM CASE TWO

FINE BINDINGS

During the eighteenth century, Scottish bookbinders created a national style that was quite distinct from English bindings of the same period. The Scottish style was characterized by two basic designs, described as "wheel" and "herring-bone".

Wheel bindings are characterized by a large central gold-tooled scalloped circle, resembling a rose window, divided into segments by radiating lines, and elaborately tooled. The areas around the circle are filled with either quarter-circles of similar design, or floral sprays.

Herring-bone bindings assume a number of different forms, but share the common feature of a highly decorated rectangular frame, with ornaments placed horizontally and symmetrically like "ribs" on either side of a central vertical fillet. The ornaments employed are usually in the shape of palm leaves, pears, half-pears, or turnip-shaped motifs. Other frequently used motifs, common to both styles, are the St. Andrew's cross, thistle, rose, crown, star, and fleur-de-lis.

Both wheel and herring-bone bindings are executed in dark blue, black, brown or dark red morocco goatskin, with gilt endpapers, often with an embossed floral design. They are normally found on Bibles, as the examples on display indicate, or on presentation copies of academic dissertations. All wheel and herring-bone bindings were almost certainly produced in Edinburgh between 1725 and 1775.

86 *The Holy Bible, Containing the Old and New Testaments. Newly Translated out of the Original Tongues, and with the Former Translations Diligently Compared and Revised.*
Edinburgh: Printed by John Mosman and William Brown, 1727.

Full bound black morocco. Covers finished in wheel design, with sprays of foliage in four corners; the area around filled with dots and small floral motifs. The spine is divided into two-line panels, with central motifs of thistles, crowns, and roses. Gilt endpapers.

87 *The Holy Bible, Containing the Old and New Testaments. Newly Translated out of the Original Tongues, and with the Former Translations Diligently Compared and Revised.*
Edinburgh: Printed by Richard Watkins, 1744-1746.

A splendid example of a wheel binding, illustrated on the back cover of the exhibition catalogue. Full bound in black morocco. Covers finished with floral ornamental border surrounding single- and dotted-line panel containing wheel design. Each segment of the wheel contains crown, thistle, floral and other motifs; cross-hatched half-pear frame, with mass of dots, and pyramid composed of "scales" above and below; large floral spray in four corners; areas around filled with various floral motifs, stars, dots, and circles. Spine finished with two-line panels with gilt rolls on bands; panels quartered diagonally, containing gilt fleur-de-lis, stars, and other ornaments. Gilt endpapers.

88 *The Holy Bible, Containing the Old and New Testaments. Newly Translated out of the Original Tongues, and with the Former Translations Diligently Compared and Revised.*
Edinburgh: Printed by Alexander Kincaid [1766] 2 vols.

Full bound dark red morocco. Covers finished in wheel design, with segments of the circle containing floral motifs; pyramid composed of "scales" at top and bottom; large foliage spray in four corners; area around filled with dots, small floral tools, stars, etc. Spine finished with two-line panels containing St. Andrew's cross; "Bible" stamped in blind over design in second panel. Gilt endpapers.

89 ***The Holy Bible, Containing the Old and New Testaments. Newly Translated out of the Original Tongues, and with the Former Translations Diligently Compared and Revised.*** Edinburgh: Printed by Adrian Watkins, 1752.

Full bound dark red morocco. Covers finished in herring-bone design, with wheel and thistle centre-piece, and foliage ribs, bordered with cross-hatched pears; gilt thistle bordered with flowers and birds at top and bottom; areas around filled with small gilt bells, fleur-de-lis, dots, and floral motifs. Spine finished with two-line panels, with St. Andrews cross ending in roundels. Printed floral endpapers.

90 ***The Holy Bible, Containing the Old and New Testaments. Newly Translated out of the Original Tongues, and with the Former Translations Diligently Compared and Revised.*** Oxford: Printed by T. Wright and W. Gill; and sold by S. Crowder, London; and by W. Jackson, in Oxford, 1774. 2 vols.

Full bound brown morocco. Covers finished in herring-bone design, with wheel, crown, and thistle motifs in centre, and "turnip" ribs, bordered with pointillé lines and cross-hatched half-pears; fleur-de-lis in four corners; area around filled with dots, roundels, wheels, eagles' heads, and various floral motifs. Spine finished with three-line panels containing St. Andrew's cross ending in roundels; gilt roll on raised bands; large gilt volume numbers in second panel. Dutch marble endpapers.

The Holy Bible. Edinburgh, 1727.

The Holy Bible. Edinburgh, 1766.

The Holy Bible. Edinburgh, 1752.

The Holy Bible. Oxford, 1774.

91 James Gibbs. ***A Book of Architecture, Containing Designs of Buildings and Ornaments***. London: 1728.

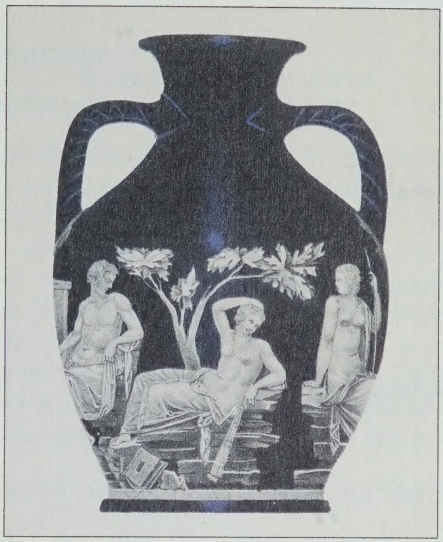
Through the support of the second and third Dukes of Argyll, Gibbs became a government functionary of the Ordnance Office, and of the King's Works. He is best known for his designs which combined traditional baroque elements with Palladian features. He designed several buildings for Argyll, including a Gothic folly around 1733.

92 Mark Catesby. ***The Natural History of Carolina, Florida and the Bahama Islands***. London: Printed at the expense of the author; and sold by W. Innys; R. Manby; Mr. Hauksbee; and by the author, 1731-1743. 2 vols.

The Duke is listed among the subscribers to this impressive work. Catesby, who moved in the same botanical circles as Argyll, was a professional gardener and plant dealer. He was well acquainted with the Duke's famed garden at Whitton.

93 Bible. ***Biblia Sacra Polyglotta, complectentia textus originales, Hebraicum, cum Pentateucho Samaritano, Chaldaicum, Græcum, versionumque antiquarum, Samaritanæ, Græcæ LXXII. interp., Chaldaicæ, Syriacæ, Arabicæ, Æthiopicæ, Persicæ, Vulg. Lat. quicquid comparari poterat***. Edidit Brianus Waltonus. Londini: Imprimebat Thomas Roycroft, 1655-1657. 6 vols.

Polyglot Bibles were standard items in great collections. For Argyll the linguist, the Bible would have been of great interest, but he would also have valued its significance for the light it shed on Biblical scholarship, a subject which interested him as it did every deist of the time.



PORTLAND VASE

The Roman glass vase, known as the Portland vase (also known as the Barberini vase), dates from the late Augustan era (first century B.C.). It was discovered ca. 1582 by Fabrizio Lazzaro in an ancient marble sarcophagus excavated at Monte del Grano near Rome, eventually finding its way into the possession of the Barberini family. In 1780 it was sold to James Byres, a Scotsman living in Rome. Byres in turn sold it in 1783 to Sir William Hamilton, who brought the vase to England. In 1786, Hamilton sold the vase to the Dowager Duchess of Portland for 1800 guineas. It resided at the Portland family home (hence its name) until 1810, when it was placed on deposit at the British Museum, where it has been ever since. In 1845 the vase was severely damaged, but was repaired with remarkable skill.

The vase, which measures almost ten inches (24.5 cm) in height, and seven inches (17.7 cm) at its widest point, is made of deep blue glass overlaid with opaque white glass in which figures are cut in cameo relief. It has been widely reproduced and copied, the most famous replicas being made for Josiah Wedgwood. During Byres's brief ownership (1780-1783), a mould of the vase was made by Giovanni Pikler, from which James Tassie produced sixty copies. The example on display is one of the replicas commissioned from Tassie by Byres.
(On loan from the Royal Ontario Museum)

Edinburgh Evening Courant. 22 May 1782.

Edinburgh Advertiser. 21 August 1767.

Edinburgh Advertiser. 15 April 1794.

WILLIAM HOGARTH: THE CULTURE OF PRINTS

Along with the expansion of the market for the printed word in the eighteenth century went a growth in the demand for prints and engravings. But even though Scotland boasted a number of highly talented painters in the Enlightenment, no one emerged who could rival the best print makers and engravers in England. William Hogarth was perhaps the first major artist in England fully to exploit the growing market for prints, and he had a considerable impact north of the Tweed, on both artists and consumers. Some of the works on display provide fascinating insights into English attitudes to the Scots in the decades following the Union of 1707.

Martin Folkes Esqr.

Designed and engraved by Hogarth in 1742.

Folkes, a personal friend of Hogarth's, was President of the Royal Society and the Society of Antiquaries. He thus serves as a visual symbol for the world of learning which attracted so many Scots to London. Scottish expatriates tended to gravitate to both societies, and they played a significant role in the proceedings of the two institutions. Folkes was sought out by Scots either travelling to or living in the metropolis and, as a result, he knew a number of Scottish antiquaries and men of science, including the Duke of Argyll.

Simon Lord Lovat. 1746.

Designed and engraved by Hogarth.

Hogarth met the notorious Jacobite, Simon Fraser of Lovat, shortly after Lovat had been captured by the Royal Navy on the west coast of Scotland and dispatched south to London. The portrait is said to record specific details of their meeting, although one might speculate that the devilish look on Lovat's face reflects Hogarth's attitude towards Jacobitism. Ever the canny businessman, Hogarth issued this print in August 1746 when Lovat and other Jacobites were executed. Demand was so great that he found it difficult to print a sufficient number of copies, and he ended up making a tidy sum as a reward for his efforts.

[The March to Finchley] A representation of the March of the Guards towards Scotland in the Year 1745. 1761.

From a painting by Hogarth; engraved by Luke Sullivan, retouched and improved by Hogarth.

Hogarth returned to the theme of Jacobitism in this print, which conjures up the tumult caused by the London militia stationed at Finchley that was dispatched to intercept the Pretender's army in the late autumn of 1745. Although Hogarth was no friend of the Jacobites, his depiction of the defenders of the Hanoverian regime is far from sympathetic, and the noted Hogarth scholar Ronald Paulson has suggested that this print was originally issued in December 1750 to garner support for the Duke of Cumberland's efforts to reform the military.

Credulity, Superstition and Fanaticism: a Medley. 1762.

Designed and engraved by Hogarth.

The publication of Bibles, sermons, theological works, religious pamphlets, and tracts formed an important part of the culture of print in the Scottish Enlightenment. Religious issues were thus never far from the centre of public debate. Hogarth's pointed attack on Methodism parallels the critical view of popular reli-

gion held by the Moderates, who were likewise wary of John Wesley and his followers. Hogarth's dislike of enthusiasm also speaks to the sensibilities of a genteel sceptic like the Duke of Argyll. Some scholars have read Hogarth's visual references to Catholicism as a further repudiation of Jacobitism.

John Wilkes Esqr. 1800

Designed by Hogarth, engraved by T. Cook.

Hogarth intended this caricature to be a companion piece to his portrait of Simon Lord Lovat. Described as a "lively, facetious man" by James Boswell, Wilkes stirred up anti-Scottish feeling in London through *The North Briton* and through his attacks on Lord Bute. Yet Wilkes was a friend to a number of Scots, including Boswell. While he was a student at Leyden in the 1740s, he was very close to the metaphysician Andrew Baxter and to the young Alexander Carlyle, who wrote of Wilkes that "even then he shew'd Something of Daring Profligacy for which he was afterwards Notorious".

PORTRAITS

Archibald Campbell, third Duke of Argyll [Case 1]

One of at least nine portraits of the Duke of Argyll painted by Allan Ramsay. This full length portrait, commissioned by the City Council of Glasgow in 1749, depicts the Duke wearing the robes of the Lord Justice-General of Scotland, seated in a chair, turning the pages of a large folio, recently identified as *The Works of that Eminent and Learned Lawyer Sir George Mackenzie* (Edinburgh, 1716-1722). The book is open at Mackenzie's *Pleadings, in Some Remarkable Cases, before the Supreme Courts of Scotland, since the Year, 1661*, which include his plea on behalf of the third Duke's great-grandfather, the Marquis of Argyll, who was beheaded in 1661. The portrait hung in the Council Hall in Glasgow until 1902, when it was transferred to the Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum, where it now resides.

David Hume [Case 4]

This half-length portrait of Hume, also painted by Allan Ramsay, depicts the philosopher dressed in the semi-military uniform of scarlet coat and waistcoat, trimmed with gold, that he wore in his capacity as Secretary to the Military Mission at Vienna and Turin. Hume's left arm is resting on two leather-bound volumes, one of which is a Latin edition of the works of Tacitus. Ramsay painted this portrait in London in 1766, when Hume was hosting Jean-Jacques Rousseau. The portrait hung in the Hume home in Edinburgh alongside Ramsay's portrait of Rousseau dressed in Armenian costume. The portrait of Hume is currently housed in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery in Edinburgh.

David Hume [Reading Room Wall]

Mezzotint engraving, after Ramsay's painting, by David Martin, Ramsay's principal assistant. Dated 1767.

(On loan from Michael Walsh)

PORTRAIT MEDALLIONS BY JAMES TASSIE

James Tassie (1735-1799) trained as a stonemason before studying sculpture at the Academy of Fine Arts, established at the University of Glasgow by Robert and Andrew Foulis. In 1763 he moved to Dublin to work with Henry Quin, with whom he developed a finely-textured white enamel paste with which he made replicas of gems and portraits of eminent contemporaries. Moving to London in 1766, Tassie established a flourishing business. Among his clients was the Empress Catherine II of Russia for whom the artist produced thousands of replica gems. In all Tassie is said to have produced some twenty thousand pieces.

The subjects of Tassie's enamel portraits were distinguished men and women, including many of his fellow Scots, prominent in the field of politics, commerce, medicine, the army, and the university. Subjects were first modelled in wax, and then cast in the enamel paste. The portraits were usually oval, with the subject shown in profile, either wearing a wig and drapery, or clothed in contemporary dress.

GLASS ENAMEL PORTRAIT MEDALLIONS
BY JAMES TASSIE:

Thomas Reid (1710-1796), Dated 1791.*

William Cullen (1710-1790), Dated 1786.*

John Anderson (1726-1796), Dated 1789.*

William Robertson (1721-1793), Dated 1791.*

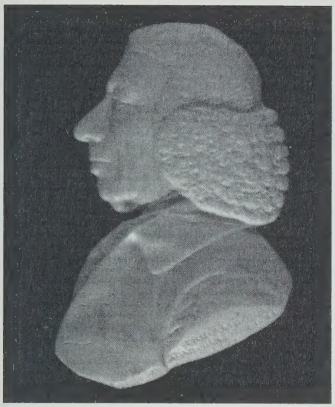
Hugh Blair (1718-1800), Dated 1791.*

Adam Smith (1723-1790), Dated 1787.†

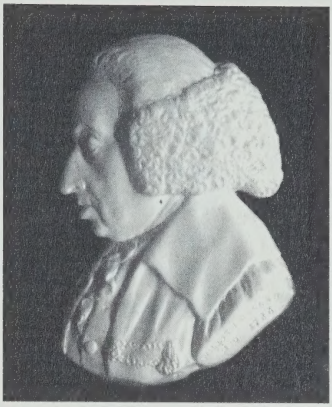
Dugald Stewart (1753-1828), Dated 1797.†

* (On loan from the Royal Ontario Museum)

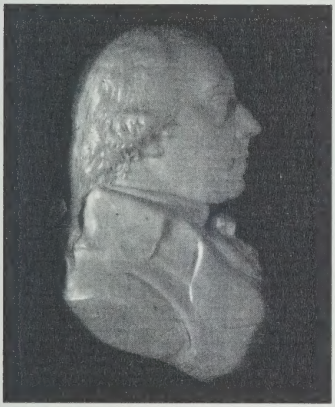
† (On loan from Michael Walsh)



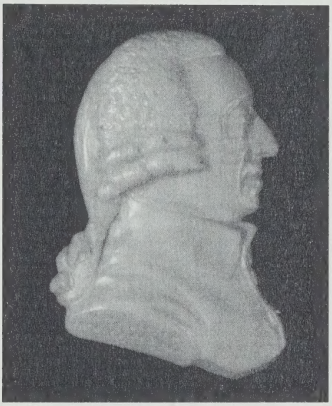
Thomas Reid



William Cullen

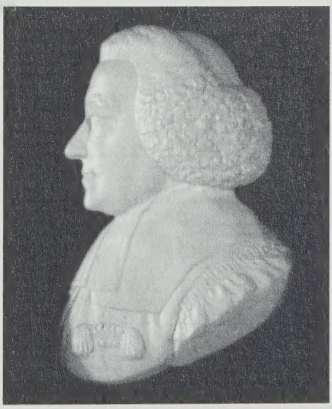


Dugald Stewart



Adam Smith

Hugh Blair



William Robertson

This catalogue has been typeset in a digital version of Caledonia, designed by W.A. Dwiggins for Linotype and issued in 1939. The type was inspired by the work of Scotch typefounders. A transitional face cut by William Martin for Bulmer around 1790 and a type of obscure origin which appears to be a revival of a face cut by Richard Austin about 1810 for the Wilson Foundry and for William Miller of Edinburgh.

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